A
Short History
OF THE
Khwarazmshahs

BY

PROFESSOR GHULAM RABBANI AZIZ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 Dr. Moinul Haq Road, New Karachi Housing Society,
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Dedicated

To

HAKIM MOHAMMED SAID

as a token of my sincere regard for his untiring efforts to promote the cause and revival of Islamic ideology and culture.
May God ever crown his efforts with success !

AUTHOR

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER IV

JALĀL AL-DIN KHWARAZMSHAH (I)

CHAPTER V

END OF JALĀL AL-DĪN KHWĀRAZMSHĀH (II)

CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII

LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY IN KHWĀRAZM

PREFACE

The reasons for the selection of this thesis are two fold. One, no comprehensive book, to my knowledge, is available on this topic. Two, the importance of this topic in view of the magnitude of the tragedy and its wide-spread consequences, especially for Islam, is such as it needed a thorough study and impartial examination of the material at our disposal to draw a true conclusion and to enumerate the fateful causes that gave birth to this dreadful eruption having no parallel in the history of any nation, which demolished all that the civilized world had so far achieved. The present writer has set the ball rolling in his own humble way and now it is for the learned historians to manfully accept the challenge of the time and produce a work worthy of their learning and scholarship.

History has its own significance. It serves as a mirror for the past and a guide for the future. If our history is replete with the glorious performances of our dauntless warriors and enterprising Sultans, it is not at the same time wanting in the misdeeds of the ignoble symbols of disgrace, ignominy and humiliation. Uuluckily Sultan Muḥammad's contribution in this behalf stands as yet unsurpassed. Nations learn from the omissions of their past and chalk out future programmes accordingly. Islam is again on the march with the grace of Allāh to fulfil its destiny. Let us all join hands and march soulder to shoulder to our goal.

I shall be wanting in my duty if I fail to express my deep gratitude to Hakim Moḥammed Sa'id for accepting my humble offer of the dedication of this book to him. Hakim Sahib in himself is an institution and the scope of his healthy activities is limitless. May he live long and may the Almighty God multiply his

class. I am equally indebted to Dr. Moinul Haq, the learned General Secretary, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, who did a lot in shaping this Ms. to its present form.

I am also thankful to the Department of Archaeology for lending the copy of Le Strange's book for tracing the maps.

G. R. Aziz

Campbellpur
27-9-1978

INTRODUCTION

Khwārazm* played a very significant role in the development of Muslim Civilization in Persia and Mawarā-al-Nahr. It was the name of a principality which in earlier middle-ages had two capitals; the one situated on the Persian side of the river Amoyah, was called Jurjāniyah or Urganj and the other on the eastern bank of the river was named Kāth. In the early fourth (tenth) century a part of Kāth was devastated by floods. Later on a new city was built up at some distance from the original site, as to make it immune from the fateful incursions of the river. The new capital was named Shahristān by the Persians. Just as the old Kāth had a canal running through its main bazar, similarly a net-work of canals passed through different streets of the new capital. It appears that the capital had lost much of its importnace in the beginning of the fifth (eleventh century) owing to regular encroachments of the Oxus and a large number of inhabitants migrated to the Persian side and the magnificent metropolis was reduced to the position of a second grade town. In 86/705 when Qutaybah captured Kāth it was named Al-Manṣuriyyah, which is a flourishing though small town even today. Jurjāniyah, the second capital of the state however acquired importance after the decline of Kāth and became the chief city of the principality. It was a commercial centre and market place for caravans coming from Turkistan and passing on to Khurāsān. Later, the name Jurjāniyah fell into disuse and the town came to be called Khwārazm. After its siege by the Mongols which lasted for five months, Khwārazm was reduced to a heap of bricks and stones haunted by wild beasts. The Mongols, according to Ibn al-Athīr, had deflected, after its fall, the water of the Oxus and thus completed the ruination of the city. We learn

* Also written as Khwarizm.

on the authority of the same author that a new Khwārazm had sprung up in the vicinity of the old city, which was visited by him in 628/1231. Ibn Baṭūtah found it intact. Later, however, it had to undergo the ordeal of another siege at the hands of Timur, which lasted for three months. It was almost completely destroyed but was rebuilt by the order of Tīmūr at the end of 8th/14th, century, and soon regained its old prosperity. Most probably it was due to the strategic position of Khwārazm that it was able to survive and tide over several crises and every time a new Khwārazm rose over its own ashes like a phoenix.

Khiva, the next important town in the state was watered by a canal dug from the left bank of the Oxus. It rose to prominence under the Uzbek chiefs after Tīmūr and became the capital of the province, eclipsing the old one.

The town of Hazārasp was situated close to the Persian bank of the Oxus and was surrounded on all sides by a canal. Yāqūt Hamawī refers to it as a beautiful town having a rich market. Between Hazārasp and Ṭāhiriyyah there were three more towns. One of these was Jikanband surrounded by gardens. A little further to north stood Damghān surrounded by vineyards, the third named Sadur, was situated close to the river bank.

Canals were dug from the Oxus to irrigate the land lying on both of its banks. A big canal on the eastern side was navigable for boats; and vast areas up to the vicinity of Hazārasp and Khiva were irrigated.

Khwārazmshāh was the title of the ruler of the state from the Pre-Islamic days. It was also adopted by the Muslim rulers. This is the only instance in Central Asia of an old diplomatic title retaining its significanee for a long time even after the advent of Islam. According to al-Bīrūnī, Kaykhusraw was the founder of the first dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs which was established about a thousand years before Alexander. This however is not supported by any contemporay records.

When the Arabs marched into Central Asia in 86/705 under the

command of Qutaybah b. Muslim, a favourite of Ḥajjāj, Shūmān was the ruler of Khwārazm. In the middle of the tenth century as its ruler on behalf of the Sāmānī Prince, Nūḥ was 'Abd Allāh b. Ashkan. During this interval of nearly two centuries and a half Khwārazm remained in obscurity.

Causes of the Rise of the Khwārazmshāhs

The first two rulers of the Khwārazmian dynasty, namely Anushtigīn and Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, could not even imagine that a century later their descendant would be one of the greatest Muslim rulers of his time and his territory would extend from the extreme north of Mawarā' al-Nahr to the western bank of the Indus including even a part of Sind. Itciz may be considered as the real founder of the Khwārazmian dynasty, who time and again revolted against the authority of the great Saljuqids and thus paved the way for the establishment of an independent dynasty. The rout of Sanjar at the hands of the Ghuzz accelerated the fall of the Saljuqs. His successor could not withstand the onslaughts of his father's ungrateful portege. Ṭakish the great-grandson of Quṭb al-Din Muḥammad who out of sheer regard for the great house of Saljuqids paid a visit every second year to the royal court, virtually finished the task begun by his distinguished ancestor, Itciz.

Of their contemporary dynasties the Ghurid, could not produce a second Mu'izz al-Dīn. As Takish, was indebted to the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs for their support to his cause he pulled on with them amicably. Along with his incursions against the Ghurids and Saljuqids however he never missed any opportunity to measure his arms against them. On one particular occassion he had murdered their ambassador who visited his court to receive the annual tribute. These occasional outbursts were a prelude to a chapter to be written later by his unlucky son 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad. Sultan Takish's outbursts hit the prestige of the Qarā-Khitā'īs and their military traditions, and ultimately 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad struck the last nail into the coffin of that dynasty.

Another factor which contributed to the rise of the Khwārazmshāhs was the establishment of their matrimonial alliance with the house of Qipchāq, a territory situated at the distance of nearly seventy miles to the north of Utrar. This turbulent tribe of Turks was the spear-head of the Khwārazmian army. Takish had married a princess of this house named Turkān Khātūn. Her presence in the royal harem was a source of inspiration to her kinsmen, who spared no pains to serve the cause of their queen. They gallantly fought for her sake and prestige of the neighbouring states, in course of time, receded to their lowest ebb.

Causes of the Downfall of Khwarazmshās

In the time of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad considerable territories had been added to the empire of the Khwārazmshāhs and their political influence extended over a vast area. Being at the zenith of his power he had introduced the sounding of *Nawbat i-Iṣkandari* at the gates of his Royal Palace. In fact the empire had become too unwieldy to be properly run without an efficient administrative machinery. Although the efficiency of the military machine created by the great Khwārazmshāhs was perfect, their civil administration was not very effective. When the Sultan was running before the Mongol hordes, the country fell into a state of chaos. There is no doubt that individul efforts were made to stem the tide of Mongol advance, but there was no organised effort to offer an effective resistance. This resulted in the loss of ten million people and complete breakdown of the Government machinery.

Turkān Khātūn, mother of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad, belonged to a turbulent tribe of the Turks called Qanquli, who oppressed the people. They were gallant fighters but as they refused to submit to any authority, they were positively a source of harm to the cause of the empire. As their first loyalty was for Turkān Khātūn, the Sultan himself had become a puppet in the hands of his mother. In case of conflict of interests, the mother had the upper hand and the Sultan's orders were usually disregarded. She maintained her own court with full paraphernalia. Unfortunately she was a self-

willed lady caring little for the wider interests of the empire. She always supported her own men and abided by them through thick and thin. Since almost all important positions in the civil administration were held by the Qanquli Turks, they did whatever they liked and thus rendered the Sultan helpless. Ghāir Khān Inaljak, Governor of Utrar, who murdered four hundred Muslim traders for no fault of theirs, was the maternal uncle of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad when Chingiz Khān demanded that the culprit should be handed over to him, the Sultan refused to comply with it as it was not possible for him to offend the unruly tribe of his mother. But for the influence of Turkān Khātūn the Sultan might have entered into negotiations with Chingiz Khān and the great catastrophe might have been averted.

The Qarā-Khitā'is were like a buffer state between the Khwārazmshāhs and the Mongols and it was unwise on the part of 'Alā al-Dīn to incorporate their territory into his own. A learned theologian has bemoaned the lack of insight on the part of the Sultan, and his fears proved to be too true.

The liquidation of three Kingdoms one after the other and the Sultan's impertinent demand from the Caliph of Baghdād and his fateful march against him, in which he lost greater part of his tried soldiers, were a preamble to the coming misfortune which was in store for him. The Caliph was so afraid of the dreadful Sultan that he entered into communication with the great Khān of Tartars. His message was tatooed on the shaven head of a man and when the hair had fully grown the messenger was despatched to Chingiz Khān. The Caliph, though a spent force was still held in high esteem by the whole of the Muslim world. The *khuṭbāh* was recited in his name even in the lands not governed by him. The Sultan in order to appease his anger against him declared him usurper and installed a Sayyid of Ṭirmidh. 'Ayn al-Mulk, as Caliph and discontinued the recitation of the *khuṭbah* in his name. This however caused so much uproar and commotion throughout his empire that he was forced to withdraw his orders.

Ostensibly we cannot doubt the sincerity of the Great Khān in extending hand of friendship to the Khwārazmshāh with a view to establish diplomatic relations. Chingiz Khān might have subsequently changed his mind when messenger after messenger from various countries waited upon him with one and the same request. This great general, must have carefully surveyed the whole situation and chalked out a feasible plan. Even as such the Great Khān abstained from falling out with the Khwārazmshāh without any sound reason. In fact he was immensely impressed with the extra-ordinary military feats of the Sultan and had a great regard for him. The Sultan on the contrary, quite foolishly cherised a hostile design against him and resented approaches made to him by Chingiz Khān. He secretly consulted a Muslim delegate, deputed by Chingiz Khān to visit his court, and made searching enquiries from him which made him sceptical Not feeling contented with this, he induced the same person to act as his spy at the Mongol court. Later on a trade mission from Chingiz Khān arrived at Utrar and the Governor of this military outpost, Ghāir Khān mischieviously reported that the members of the mission sent by Chingiz Khān were spies in disguise. The Sultan took it to be true and allowed him to act as he considered wise. The avaricious Governor ordered the execution of the entire mission of four hundred strong, his co-religionists. The shocking news reached the Great Khān and naturally he was very much annoyed. He communicated to the Sultan the ghastly action of his Governor and asked him to hand over the culprit to him. The situation aggravated when the Sultan's idiocy got the better of him and he after killing the head of the delegate, shaved the beards and heads of the others and kicked them out of his court. This was adding insult to injury which nobody could tolerate, much less a man of Chingiz's ferocity. The Great Khān is stated to have growled and roared like a wounded lion till the entire tribe girt up its loins to vindicate the honour of their great commander. About seven lach Mongols were under his command when the Khān marched on Utrar to wreak venegence on the misguided governor.

The Sultan was encamping at Samarqand when he heard of the Khān's march against him. He, as usual, consulted his astrologer as regards the outcome of his engagement with the Mongols. He advised the Sultan that as his star was in descent, he should avoid clash with Chingiz Khān, at least for the next two years. This inopportune advice demoralised him altogether, and despite all the entreaties made by Jalāl al-Dīn, he could not be persuaded to boldly face the enemy. Similarly he refused to allow Jalāl al-Dīn, his heir-apparent, to face Chingiz Khān either. The Sultan's supersitition was the root-cause of the whole trouble. He preferred to escape and save himself rather than fight and die honourably. Nobody approved this unholy plan, which betrayed his defeatist mentality. Soon a stage was reached when the turbulent Turks of Qipchāq deserted him and joined the Mongol army. The Khwārazmians had to pay a toll of ten million of innocent lives for their Sultan's stupidity.

Jalāl al-Dīn was the only hope of the people, whom the Sultan on his death-bed proclaimed as his successor. After the Sultan's burial Jalāl al-Dīn returned to Khwārazm to carefully examine the situation Arriving there he realised that it was out of control and the Mongol invasion of the capital was imminent, and it was inadvisable to stay there. He marched to Ghaznin with a few hundred loyal soldiers still clinging to him. Early in the following spring he set out for India to have a respite and make necessary preparations to meet the enemy. Chingiz lost no time in setting out in his pursuit to stop him going to the subcontinent.

Being thus hard pressed, Jalāl al-Dīn who was encamping by the side of the Indus jumped into the river and crossed it. His two year's stay in the subcontinent did him little good. He, therefore, returned to his mother land and the first blow fell on the Uzbek ruler of Ādharbayjān. Had the Sultan disowned the policy pursued by his father and created a common front against Chingiz Khān, he might have succeeded in reconquering at least

a portion of his father's lost dominion and thus could save his dynasty from complete annihilation. But as he had been brought up in an atmosphere of hatred and enmity he could not change his policy. He seized the neighbouring states one by one till they joined hands to extirpate him. It was too late when the Sultan realised his mistake. To undo it he once went so far as to visit Baghdād to pay homage to the Caliph and to regain his support; but the situation had already taken a serious turn and it was not possible for him to retrace his steps. The inevitable happened and the House of the Great Khwārazmshās ultimately ceased to exist.

CHAPTER I

ANŪSHTIGIN TO 'ALA' AL-DIN

Anūshtigīn[1]

The founder of this illustrious dynasty was a Turkish slave, named Anūshtigīn who was purchased from one of the inhabitants of Gharjistān[2] by Balkātigīn[3], a courtier of Malikshāh[4] Saljūqī (1072-1092), who was holding the office of *tashtdār*[5] (purveyor)[6].

According to Ibn al-Athīr, long before Anushtigīn came into lime-light, Khwārazm[7] was governed by Ikinchī b. Kūchqar

1 Rashid al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawarīkh*, Ms. F. 1002. He was a descendant of the family of Ighūr.

2 Gharjistān was a fertile region bounded by Herat in the west, by Ghūr in the east, Marwar-Rūd in the north and Ghaznīn in the south.

3 Abu al-Fidā, *Tārīkh-i-Abu al-Fidā*, al-Hussayniyah al-Misriyah, 1325 H. styles him as Balkabal Vol. II, p. 209 & *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* as Balkatigin, p. 486.

4 Malikshāh was the son of Alp Arsalān, well known for his patronage of Niẓām ul-Mūlk the great. He ascended the throne in 485/1092

5 Minhāj al-Dīn Siraj, *Tabuqat-i-Nāṣirī* (Ed. Tr. Raverty, London 1873) p. 233, says that revenues of the Khawarazmian territory were meant "to defray the expenses of purveyorship in the same manner as those of Khuzistān were assigned for the expenses of the royal wardrobe.

6 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil (al-Miṣriyah,* 1301 H) Vol. X, p. 182 and Juwayni. *Jahān Gusha*. (Leyden 1966), Vol. II, pp. 2.

7 Khwārazm is the name of a terriory in which the largest town was Jurjāniyah. At first there was a city built on the eastern bank of the Oxus, which was called al-Munsūrah. Later on there sprang up a small township on the western bank which was called Gurgānj. As the first-mentioned town, at a latter date, was washed away by the Oxus, the people moved to Gurgānj, which added to its prosperity and became the seat of government and was called Jurjāniyah. Yāqūt, the greatest Arab georapher, happened to be there in 616/1219 and found it intact. It was in 617-618/1220 that the city was devastated by the Mongols. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Qairo 1906, Vol III, pp. 79, 474. *The Lands of the*

who was murdered (490/1097)[1] by one of his nobles at Marw, while going to the court of Barkiyāruq to pay homage. Although Ikinchī had ten thousand soldiers at his command at this time, he had to ride in such haste that when he arrived at Marw, only three hundred troops were with him. Here two of his nobles, Qādan and Yārūqtāsh, killed him at this time when Amīr Dād Beg Ḥabashī b. Altūntāq was acting as the deputy of Barkiyāruq in Khurasan.[2]

The Sultan, hearing of the incident,[3] wrote to Dād Beg Ḥabashī to depute some one to act as governor of Khwārazm. He deputed Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad's on of Anūshtigin, to proceed to Khwārazm and control the situation. It appears that uptil now, the Khwārazm Shāhs were represented by their deputies, while they remained at the court of the Sultan. On the death of Balkātigīn, Anūshtigīn was made *Khwārazmshāh* in 475/1082 and Ikinchī was despatched to act as his deputy. When Ikinchī was killed, in 490/1097[4] the

(*Continued fiom page* 1)

Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1905, says that Gūrganj was devasated by the Mongols in 617/1220. Later in 628/1231 Khwārazm came into being again. It was again ruined in the 14th century by Tīmūr and rebuilt in 780/1388. *Dairat al-Ma'ani* Cairo 1925, Vol III, p, 791).

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XI, p. 93 and *Tārīkh-i-Mūkhtaṣār Īrān* by Dr. Raḍa-zada (Tehran 1314 H) note p. 66.

2 Barkiyāruq was the son of Malikshāh, the Suljuqid Sultan. He ascended the throne in 485/1092 and died in 498/1104 *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, Leyden, 1910, PP. 451, 454.

3 *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, p. 3; accout of the incident is as follows :-

" During the reign of Barkivāruq b. MalikShāh, a noble Dād Beg Ḥabaghi was acting as deputy of the Sultan in Khurasan and Ikirchi b. Quchqar was the governor of Khurāsan. He was one of Sanjar's slaves. Dād Beg removed him from office and appointed Quṭb al-Dīn in his place. This happened in 491/1098.

4 Ḥāmd Allāh Mūstawfī, (*Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, Leyden 1910, p. 486) says that Anushtigīn was the first Khwārazmshah who was succeeded by his son Quṭb-al-Dīn Mūhammād According to him Anushtigīn had more than one son ; Quṭb al-Dīn being the eldest was carefully brought up by his father. He was sagacious and wise like his father. On his father's death the office, territory and the title of Khwārazmshah was bestowed on him by Barkiyāruq in 419/1098.

governorship of Khwārazm passed on to Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. The title of *Khwārazmshāh* till then was not hereditary.

It depended on the sweet will of the sovereign to nominate whomsoever he liked. When Balkātigīn died, Anushtigīn was made Khwārazmshāh. Prior to this appointment he was working as a commander of a thousand soldiers in the Sultan's army.

Quṭb al-Dīn Khwārazmshah

Quṭb al-Dīn restored normalcy in the affairs of his territory. Once he went out of Khwārazm leaving Ṭughraltigīn, son of Ikinchī, to officiate for him.[1] Thinking himself the rightful heir of Ikinchī, he entered into a conspiracy with the ruler of a neighbouring Turkish state and invited him to attack Khāwrazm. In the meanwhile, however Sanjar,[2] had been crowned as Sultan and confirmed Quṭb al-Dīn in his office. Having learnt the designs of the usurper Quṭb al-Dīn hastened to Khwārazm; he reached there in time, and the crisis was averted.

Quṭb al-Dīn ruled for thirty years and during this period he remained loyal to Sultan Sanjar and maintained cordial relations with him. He attended the Sultan's court every second year and in his absence, his son remained there as a surety for his father's good conduct. He died in 522/1128 and was succeeded by his son Itciz.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Itciz Khwārazmshāh

He was the real founder of the dynasty, because he succeeded in throwing off the vassalage of the Saljūqs. He was born in *Rajab* 490/1097 and was carefully brought up by his father who had placed him under the tutelage of learned men and capable politicians of his time. He was a patron of science and literature and attracted a number of literary persons to his court at

1 It happened in 480/1088. *Tārīkh-i-Abu al-Fidā*, Vol. III, P. 14.

2 Sanjar's name was 'Abd al-Ḥārith Mu'izz al-Dn Muḥammad. He was born on 25th *Rajab* 479/Nov, 1086 He acted as governor of Khurāsān during the reign of his brother Barkiyāruq He ascended the throne in 511/1117 and peɪp5!52/1157, *Encylopaedia of Islam*, Leyden, Vol. IV, pp. 151-152. n

Khwārazm. He was a good poet and composed odes and quatrains. In his earlier years during his stay at the Sultan's court he had served him faithfully and was liked by him. He succeeded his father in 522/1128.

In 524/1130 Ṭamghāch Khān the chief of Transoxiana[1] revolted against the Sultan. Sanjar marched against him and stayed for a few days at Bukhara. One day when the Sultan was on a hunting expedition some of his discontented nobles decided to kill him. They fell upon his tent and were about to kill him, when all of a sudden the trotting of a horse diverted their attention. To their utter surprise they found that it was Itciz, who entered the royal pavilion with a drawn sword in his hand. The disloyal nobles took to their heels; Sanjar was immensely pleased for this timely help and enquired as to who had conveyed the news to him? He replied. " Your Majesty, I was asleep in my camp and had a fearful dream: I woke up and thought that your Majesty was in trouble". This incident brought them much nearer to each other, but some of the envious courtiers began to sow seeds of discord between them. They succeeded in poisoning the Sultan's ears against Itciz ane he was compelled to leave the court. Sanjar suspected his intentions but allowed him to proceed to his government at Khwārazm in 529/1135. His enemies tried to persuade the Sultan to make short work of him, but he did not like to harm the man who had once saved his life.

Soon after Itciz stopped payment of the annual tribute. Sanjar marched againt him (553/1138) and attacked Khwārazm; Itciz could not hold his own and was routed. His son Il-Qatlagh was captured and killed by the Sultan's orders. Sanjar installed his nephew, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad as governor of Khwārazm and returned to Khurasan. No sooner had the Sultan turned his back than Itciz reappeared on the scene and Sulaymān had to

1 The territory situted on the eastern bank of the Oxus is called Transoxiana, and ws ruled by the Qara-Khiṭā'īs, till it was conquerred by Muḥammad Khwārazmshah in 600/1203-11. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. VII, pp. 370-73.

vacate the place to save his life.[1] Thus the relations between the Khwārazmshāh and Sanjar were further strained; in 535/1140 the former threw away the yoke of vassalage, declared his independence, and began to coin money in his name, assuming the title of Sultan.[2]

In the spring of 536/1141 Itciz marched on Sarakhs to conquer it. A siege was laid around the city. Abū Muḥammad Zaydī, a pious and learned man waited upon Itciz and intervened on behalf of the citizens promising that they would offer submission. Itciz now proceeded to attack Marw. On arriving there, he was approached by Aḥmad al-Bākharzī on behalf of the people to convey their submission to him. The offer was accepted and the learned delegate returned to the town with tidings of pardon. On the following day Itciz sent for Abū al-Faḍl Kirmāni and some other nobles to negotiate with them. The citizens of Marw misconstrued it and murdered all the soldiers of Itciz who were in the city and shut its gates from within. Itciz invested the city and succeeded in subduing it ; he ordered a general massacare. Even eminent person like Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī and 'Alī b. Muḥammad Arsalān were among the dead.

In *Shawwāl*, of the same year, he marched on Nishāpur. The treatment meted out to the inhabitants of Marw served as an eye-opener and representatives of the city approached Itciz to offer

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1 Barthold says that Sanjar accused Itciz of killing Muslims in Jand and *Manqishlagh*. On this, Itciz revolted, imprisoned the Sultan's officials and confiscated their property. Sanjar who was in Balkh marched with a large army to punish him. Itciz was in a strong fortress near Hazārasp. As the strip near the bank was inundated the Suljuqid army had to pass slowly through the sand-steppes. Itciz led his army in the open and gave battle in which he was totally routed, losing ten thousand in killed and wounded. It is further stated by *Mu'jam al-Buldān* that when Itciz approached Khwārazm, its inhabitants who were disgusted with the behaviour of Sanjar's army rallied round him and forced Sulaymān to fly. *Turkistan*, (Oxford) 1920, p. 325.

2 According to *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah*, (p. 487,) it was in 535/1140 that he declared himself as an independent Sultan.

submission on the condition that they should not be molested. Itciz acceeded to their request with the proviso that the treasures of Sanjar should be handed over to him and the *khuṭbāh* which was recited in the name of Sanjar was to be discontinued forthwith. When *khuṭbah* was read in the name of Itciz, it was highly disapproved by the audience and there was such an uproar that a regular rising was feared. Anyhow better sense prevailed and the *khuṭbah* was suspended for the time being in view of the emergency.[1]

Itciz thence went to Ṣughd. This was the time when Sanjar had sustained a defeat at the hands of Qara-Khiṭā'is in 536/1141.[2]

Rashid Waṭwāt wrote a panegyric, the first verse of which is :

ملک اتسز به تخت ملک برآمد   دولت سلجوق و آل او بسر آمد

The author of *Tārikh Guzīdah* says that this *qasīdah* was composed by Rshīd to inaugurate the occassion of Itciz's declaration of independence ; it appears more probable.

The Sultan being tired of high-handedness of Itciz marched again on Khwārazm in 538/1145 and invested it. The seige prolonged and Itciz fought so bravely that Sanjar raised it and left for Nīshapur. A sudden change was noticed in Itciz, of his own accord; he surrendered to Sanjar and begged his pardon. Their differences were patched up, but the Sultan to keep himself in touch with Itciz's activities deputed Adibi-Ṣābir, a well-known poet, to act as his representative at Khwārazm. Itciz was a man of fickle nature; he hired the services of two criminals, and deputed

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1 To me it appears improbable that Itciz after his defeat and bitter experience should have liked once again to measure arms against Sanjar. Besides, when Sanjar wsa defeated by the Qara-Khita'īs, the territory of Itciz was also sacked by one of their military divisions and a large number of people were killed. Itciz was so much over-awed by this unhappy incursion, that he agreed to pay them thirty thousand gold *dinārs* as annual tribute. Keeping these facts in view he felt disinclined to accept the authenticity of these invasions. But since Ibn al-Athīr and Juwaynī have recorded thees raids, I could not help mentioning them.

2 Ibn al-Athīr Vol. XI, p. 40 ; Ibn *Kh*aldūn. (Cairo 1301 H.) Vol. V p. 67.

them to assassinate the Sultan. Abidī-Ṣābir got a clue of his intentions and informed the Sultan giving full particulars of the assassins. The police traced them in an ale-house. They were produced in the court and beheaded. Though Sanjar was saved, the poor poet paid for it with his life. On the order of Itciz he was thrown in the Oxus.

This offence compelled the Sultan to march once again (542/1147) against his rebellious vassal to set him right.[1] Hazārasp was besieged for the second time and the Khwārazmshāh had to shut himself in. Anwarī, the poet laureate, on this occasion, was with Sanjar ; he wrote the following quatrain on an arrow and shot it into the city :-

ای شاه ! همه ملک زمین حسب تراست
وز دولت و اقبال جهان کسب تراست
امروز به یک حمله هزار اسپ بگیر
فردا خوارزم و صد هزار اسپ تراست

Rashīd was at Hazārasp. He, by way of rejoinder to the above quatrain, wrote the following quatrain and shot it back into the Sultan's camp:-

شاها درجامت مئے صافی است نه درد
اعدائے تر از غصه خون باید خورد
گر خصم تو ای شاه بود رستم گرد
یک خر ز هزار اسپ نتواند برد

The composition was produced before the Sultan who was so annoyed that he swore to cut Rashīd into seven pieces whenever he was caught. Hazārasp ultimately fell. It was doomsday for Rashīd. One by one he approached all the nobles of the Sultan to intercede but none could afford him shelter. At last Munta-

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1. Jūwani, p. 10 ; Khwnad-amir, *Habib al-Siyar*, Ms. No. KPE 1-2, f. 130.

khab al-Dīn Badi' al-Kātib promised to move the Sultan in his favour, whenever possible.

One day a reference towas made to Rashīd in Sanjar's presence. Badi' al-Kātib addressing the Sultan said, "Your Majesty had sworn to cut Rashīd into seven pieces, but since he is a handful of a man, I suggest he may be cut into two and not seven." The Sultan smiled and forgave the poet.

Itciz could foresee his approaching end. The Sultan marched on Khwārazm. Itciz sought the intervention of a holy man, called Ahū Pūsh and sued for peace. As the Sultan did not like to pursue the matter further, he pardoned Itciz once again. He solicited to pay homage to the Sultan personally. The request was granted, but the Khwārazmshāh behaved in a most objeec-tionable way. He appeared before Sanjar on a horse and bowed his head without dismounting from it and retired.[1] As the Sultan did not like to renew hostilities he connived at it and allowed him to continue to rule as Khwārazmshāh.[2]

Kamāl al-Dīn Arslān Khān Maḥmūd, ruler of Jand[3] was on friendly terms with Itciz. In 547/1152, Itciz proceeded to Ṣāqnāq[4] to reduce it with his help. But when he approached Jand, Kamāl al-Dīn left him and ran way. This brought trouble for Rashīd, the poet-laureate of the Khwārazmshāh, because he was on good terms with Kamāl al-Dīn. His ill-wishers reported to Itciz that Rashīd had been in communication with the ruler of Jand and that he knew of his treachary before-hand. This unfounded report upset Itciz and he debarred Rashīd from

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1 Sanjar tolerated this for the sake of the holy and learned man who had intervened. *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdāh*, p. 489.

2 *Jahān' Gushā* p. 10; Mirkhond, *Rawḍāt al-Ṣafa*, Vol. IV p. 135; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, p. 10.

3 Jand was a Muslim city in Turkistan beyond the Sihūn. In the early part of the 13th century, it was devastated by the Mongols. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 486.

4 Sāqnāq or Saghnāq was the capital of Qipchāq at a distance of twenty four leagues from *Utrar*- *Ibīd*, p. 486.

appearing at the court.[1] On this occasion he wrote some verses, as for instance[2],

سی سال شد که بنده به صف نعال در
بود است مدح خوان و تو بر تخت بادشاه
داند خدائی عرش که هرگز نه ایستاد
چون بنده مدح خوانی در هیچ بارگاه
لیکن مثل زنند چو مخدوم شد ملول
جوید گناه و بنده بی چاره بی گناه

When the Khwārazmshāh learnt of Kamāl al-Dīn's distrust, he deputed his men to persuade him to return. Kamāl al-Dīn returned and Itciz threw him into prison where he breathed his last. His territory was given to Abū al-Fatḥ Iyāl-Araslān,[3] the crown-prince.

Next year (548/1153) Sanjar was taken captive by the Ghuzz[4].

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2 Juwayni, p. 11.

1 *Rawḍat al-Safā*, Vol. IV p. 135.

3 Juwayni, p. p. 10-12.

4 The Ghuzz were a nomad tribe of Turkomans. During the reign of Sanjar they used to pay a tribute of twenty-four thousand goats for the royal kitchen. In 548/1153 the superintendent demanded some thing more for himself which they refused and killed him. Qamāch Khān reported the mater to Sultan and requested his permission to march against the Ghuzz. A battle was fought in which Qamāch Khan and his son 'Alā' al-Dīn were killed. Although the Ghuzz agreed to pay a large sum of money as ransom and Sanjar also wanted not to pursue the matter further, his nobles did not agree and suggested that the Sultan should personally march and punish them. Sanjar attacked them and was taken captive and for about three years he was with them At last in 551/1156, he succeeded in freeing himself from their bondage See *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, (1921) p. 177. *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 462

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* says that the Sultan's mother Turkāni-Khatūn was also taken captive. Sanjar could manage to escape but he could not leave his mother in the hands of the Ghuzz. At last his mother died in 551/1156, and Sanjar managed to escape through a Ghuzz chief named Ilyās in whose personal custody he was. On the pretext of hunting he reached Jihūn and with the help of Amīr Ahmad Qamāch succeeded in reaching Marw.

This unfortunate incident offered a golden opportunity to Itciz to make amends for his past shortcomings, by joining hands with those who wanted to effect the Sultan's release. He, however, marched to Amoya, intending to capture it but pretending that he wanted to help the Sultan's cause. The commander of the fort refused to admit him, unless he heard directly from the Sultan.

Itciz tried to convince Sanjar of his good intentions and requested for the transfer of the fort to him, but the latter suspected his intentions and wrote back that prior to making over the fort, he should despatch his son with an army to effect his (the Sultan's) liberty. Itciz now realized that he would not be able to achieve his objective; hence he returned to Khwārazm.[1]

Meanwhile the Sultan's nephew, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Bughrā Khān, the ruler of Khurasan, extended an invitation to Itciz to effect the Sultan's release. He accepted the invitation leaving Khaṭā'i Khān, his second son, to officiate and himself set out for Nasā via Shāhristānah. He was encamping in the vicinity of Nasā when the news of the Sultan's escape reached him. When Maḥmūd Khān learnt of the Sultan's escape he repented his invitation to Itciz.[2]

When Itciz was encamping at Khabūshān-i-Istiwa, Rukn al-Dīn Khāqān, the ruler of Nishāpur paid him a friendly visit and stayed there for three months. At last itciz fell ill and left for Khurasan.[3] His end was now approaching fast, as he was not keeping good health. At last he was stricken with paralysis and as he took a stimulant without consulting his physicians he breathed his last on the 9th *Jumādā* II, 551/30th July, 1156.[4]

Itciz reigned for thirteen years as a vassal of Sanjar and for

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1 Juwayni, p. 12; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol IV p. 155

2 Barthold says that on the Sultan's release Itciz congratulated Sanjar and reaffirmed his loyalty. *Turkīstan*, p. 330

3 Juwaynī, 13, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* F. 165

4 According to *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdāh*, (pp. 1156, 490) he died on the 19 Jumāda II 551/9th August, 1156.

sixteen years as an independent ruler.[1] He was a man of pleasant temper and charming habits, always keen to administer justice and seek the welfare of his subjects. He issued instructions from time to time to his deputies and state functionaries to abstain from robbing the peasantry, the backbone of a country. He was loved by his people and his death was mourned by them as a big loss.[2]

Iyāl-Arsalān

Itciz had two sons, Iyāl Arsalān and Sulaymān Shāh.[3] Iyāl Arsalān, the elder brother, was at Jand, when he heard of his father's death. He immediately marched to Khwārazm and as he suspected his younger brother's loyalty, he arrested him and after blinding him, threw him in prison where he died after three days. A number of his father's nobles were also put to death. He was crowned on *Rajab* 551/22 August, 1156. To win the support of the army he increased the pay of his soldiers and made generous territorial grants.[4]

Sanjar, having arrived at Marw after his escape, sent an investiture to Iyāl Arsalān as a mark of his approval. In the following year on the 14 *Rabī' al-Awwal*, 552/8th May, 1157, the Sultan died at the age of seventy-one and the Khwārazmshāh held three day's mourning. Sanjar's death was a severe blow to the Saljuqids. Sanjar was succeeded by Ghayāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd as head of the Saljuqid house ; he was a great-grandson of Malikshāh.

When Iyāl Arsalān ascended throne, Tamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm

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1 *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, F. 164; *Nāmah-i-Khusrawān*, (Tehran 1297 H.,) Vol. II, p. 62

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XI, p. 94.

3 We learn on the authority of *Jahān Gushā* and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* that his second son's name was Khaṭā'ī Khān who acted as Khwārazmshāh in 551/1157 when Itciz had accepted the invitation of Maḥmūd. Juwayni, p. 13; *Jāmi' al-Tārīkh*, f. 1004.

4 *Turkistan*, p. 332.

son of Arsalān Khān Muḥammad, was ruler of Samarqand.[1] Tamghāj was killed by the Qarlūqs[2] and succeeded by Chaghrī Khān Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī, son of Ḥasan Taghin. Chaghri killed the chief of the Qarlūqs, Payghū Khān, persecuted his sons and other Qarlūq leaders, Lāchīn Beg being the chief among them. With a number of his fellow chiefs, Lāchīn Beg arrived at the court of the Khwārazmshāh to seek redress of their grievances. Iyāl-Arsalān, though friendly with the ruler of Samarqand, espoused their cause and in 553/1158,[3] entered Transoxiana at the head of a big army. The ruler of Samarqand approached nomad Turkomāns and Qarā-Khiṭāi's for help. They deputed ten thousand soldiers under the command of Īlak[4] Turkomān. The armies came face to face but Īlak, either being convinced of Iyāl-Arsalān's superiority or feeling diffident, begged for peace through the learned men of Samarqand. The Khwārazmshāh agreed on the condition that the Qarlūq chiefs should adequately be compensated. Having achieved it he returned to Khwārazm.

Since the death of Sanjar, Khurasan was not having peaceful life. A conflict had been going on between the Saljuqids and Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah Aybah, chief of the Ghuzz. This provided a golden opportunity to Iyāl-Arsalān to extend his influence but he did not avail of it. Only one of the Ghuzz leaders, Ikhtyār al-Dīn Aytaq of Dihistān[5] approached the Khwārazmshāh and acknowledged his overlordship. In 556/1161 he was attacked by the Ghuzz and was forced to flee to Khwārazm. Gurgān and Dihistān were

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1 One of the biggest towns of Transoxiana situated on the Ṣughd river. It is at a distance of 150 miles east of Bokhara.

2 Juwayni (p. 14) names them as Qulghān.

3 *Jahān Gushā* p. 14. *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (Vol. p. 137) says it took place on the 3rd *Rajab*, 553/31st July, 1158

4 *Jahān Gushā* p. 15, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, IV. p. 137.

5 At six days' march from Jurjān was the settlement of Dihistān in the district of the same name, an outpost on the Turkish frontier. Ibn Ḥawqal speaks of Dihistān as lying near the Caspian shore. The settlement consisted of small villages with some gardens and a sparse population. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. p. 379.

pillaged by the Ghuzz and most of the inhabitants were forced to leave their homes. Soon after Aytaq, with the help of Iyāl- Arsalān, succeeded in re-establishing himself in Dihistān.

The struggle between Maḥmūd and Mu'ayyid ended in the arrest of Maḥmūd and his son who were blinded and thrown into prison in 557/1162. Later on Mu'ayyid annexed Ṭūs, Bisṭām and Dāmghān to his territory. Arsalān (1161-77) was the head of Saljuqids whom Mu'ayyid accepted as his master and introduced *khuṭbah* in his name.[1]

Marw, Balkh and Sarakhs were, still in the hands of the Ghuzz who recognised no other authority and recited the *khuṭbah* in the name of the deceased Sanjar. To reap the advantages of this unrest Iyāl-Arsalān marched (558/1163) with a huge army on Nishāpur. As Mu'ayyid could not oppose him he shut himself up in Shadyākh. The Khwārazmshāh invested it. As the siege prolonged both the parties decided to meet half-way ; peace was thus effected.[2] Immediately however a dispute broke out between Aytaq and Iyāl-Arsalān. The former made a request to Mu'ayyid for help, which was acceded to ; through this alliance they could save their territory from the Khwārazmshāh, with the exception of Dihistān which they lost to him.[3]

When Sanjar was defeated by the Qarā-Khiṭā'is in 536/1141, the latter had also made an incursion into the territory of Itciz. He could not oppose them and therefore had agreed to pay thirty thousand gold *dinārs* to the Qarā-Khiṭā'is. Iyāl-Arsalān, refused to pay the annual tribute. In 567/1171-72, the Qarā-Khīṭā'is marched on Khwārazm. The Khwārazmshāh's army, commanded by Ayar Beg, was defeated. Iyāl-Arsalān died in *Rajab* 568/March, 1172.

This can be easily inferred from the life-story of Iyāl-Arsalān

1 *Ibn al-Athīr* Vol. XI, pp. 172-173; *Jahān Gushā* p. 16; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* f. 1004.

2 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 16; *Jāmi' al-Tawrikh*, f. 1005.

3 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 16.

4 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XI, p. 168.

that he was weak as compared with his father, who could face every hazard. Sanjar's successor was also a weak man and had the Khwārazmshāh possessed the spirits of Itciz, he would have certainly annexed a large portion of the disintegrating Saljuqid empire ; but he could not rise to the occasion and missed the chance.

There is a difference of opinion among the historians about his death. It is unanimously agreed that Iyāl-Arsalān ascended the throne in 551/1156 and died after seven years viz. in 557-558/1161-1162. But the historians have created great confusion. For instance, the author of *Jahān Gushā* says that Iyāl-Arsalān died in 560/1165, while on the following page he states, that Takish (Iyāl-Arsalān's son) after ejecting his younger brother Sultan Shāh from Khwārazm, ascended the throne in 568/1172; while the author of *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* says that his death occured in 557/1161. It sounds all right as Arsalān ruled for seven years, but is irreconcilable with the enthronement of Takish which took place in 568/1172. Ibn al-Athīr says that Iyāl-Arsalān died in 567/1171. But this cannot be reconciled with the statement that Iyāl-Arsalān ruled for seven years only. It has already been established that Arsalān succeeded his father in 551/1156 and this comes to seventeen years and not seven. If the word *'haft'* is a slip of pen, and is to be read as *'haftdah'*, then the silence of the historians, regarding the interval of ten years is surprising. It is surprising that even W. Barthold and Raverty, could not solve this enigma. The former in a foot note on page 337 (*Turkestan*) enumerated various dates of Arsalān's death, and skipped over it without making any attempt to sift the truth. Major Raverty also ignored the problem. He has stated that Iyāl-Arsalān was enthroned in 551/1156 (*Nāṣiri*, p. 238 N. 6) and died after eight years (page 239 n. I) in 567/1171, a calculation which no body accepts. It appears that Iyāl-Arsalān ruled for seventeen years and not for seven as stated by the historians. A reference may be made to the statement of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirl* . تا عرصه دراز حکمرانی کرد (ruled for a long time). The phrase عرصه دراز can never mean seven years.

Sulṭān S͟hāh

Iyāl Arsalān had two sons from different wives, 'Alā' al-Dīn Takis͟h and Sulṭāns͟hāh. At the time of his father's death, the former was at Jand, which had been assigned to him ; Sulṭāns͟hāh was at K͟hwārazm. The moment, Iyāl Arsalān passed away, Sultāns͟hāh's mother, who had great influence at the court entered into a league with the nobles of the court and got her son crowned. Ibn al-At͟hīr[1] says that Takis͟h was disowned by his father and it was just in accordance with the late K͟hwārazms͟hāh's wishes, that Sulṭāns͟hāh had ascended the throne. As he was a minor, his mother, Malkah Turkān[2] acted as his vice-gerent to conduct the affairs of the State. She summoned Takis͟h to her court, but in view of the suspicious circumstances he refused to comply with her orders. On the contrary he put in a demand for a portion of his father's dominions. The request was turned down and the following quatrain was sent in reply thereon :-

هر گه سمند عزم من پویه کند
دشمن ز نهیب تیغ من مو یه کند
این جا به رسول و نامه بر ناید کار
شمشیر دو رویه کار یک رویه کند

Takis͟h's eldest son Maliks͟hāh composed the following by way of rejoinder :-

صد گنج ترا خنجر بران مارا
کاشانه ترا مرکب و میدان مارا
خواهی کد خصومت ازمیان بر خیزد
خوارزم ترا' ملک خراسان مارا

1 Ibn al-At͟hīr, Vol. XI, p. 168; *Tārīk͟h-i-Guzīdah* (p. 491) also supports this statement saying that it was the will of the late Sultan.

2 His mother's name was Baklab Sultān. *Tarīk͟h-i-Guzīdāh*, P. 491.

Sulṭānshāh replied :-

ای جان‌عم ! این غم‌ره سودا گیرد
این قصه نه در شما نه در ما گیرد
یا قبضهٔ شمشیر که پالاید خون
یا آتش اقبال که بالا گیرد

Sulṭānshāh therefore sent an army against Takish to reduce him to submission. Unable to oppose his brother single-handed, the latter sought the aid of the Gūr Khān of Qarā-Khiṭā'ī on a promise to pay a certain amount as annual tribute, in case he succeeded.[1] This unwise step of Sultānshāh was a signal for a civil war which lasted for full twenty years. Besides Takish was compelled to seek the aid of Qarā-Khitā'ī and thus he agreed to pay them a certain sum annually. For thirty years, the house of Khwārazmshāh continued to pay an annual tribute of thirty thousand *dīnārs* to the infidels of Qarā-Khiṭā. Just before his death Iyāl-Arsalān had stopped payment and hazarded a conflict with a power superior to that of his own, as a result of which he was defeated. Despite this set-back the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs could not force the late Khwārazmshāh to pay the dues. In view of this, diplomatic relations were renewed and Fūnā[2] (the Gūrkhān's son-in-law) was despatched with a huge army to put Takish in possession of the territory. As Sulṭānshāh and his mother were no match for this army, they withdrew from Khwārazm and took shelter with Mu'ayyid at Nishāpur. Takish having got possession of Khwārazm, ascended he throne on the 22 *Jumādā* II in 568/11 December, 1172.[3] Rashīd the poet-laureate of Itciz, was at that time eighty years old. As the new Khwārazmshāh wanted to see

1 *Jahān Gushā* Vol. II P. 16. It further adds that at last the government of Khurāsān was conferred on him to end hostilities; but actually this trouble lasted till his death (p. 64.)

2 His name was farma. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 17.

3 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 17; *Gūzidā*, p. 491.

the veteran poet, he was brought in a litter in the presence of Takish. He recited the following quatrain :-[1]

جدت ورق زمانه از ظلم بشست
عدل پدرت شکسته ها کرد درست
ای برتو قبائی سلطنت آمده چست
هان تا چه کنی که وقت دولت تست

In 569/1174 Sulṭānshāh and his mother succeeded in inducing Mu'ayyid, by offering him costly presents, to march against Takish. At the same time they assured him that the inhabitants of Khwā-razm were in sympathy with them. Mua'yyid acceded to their request and with a large army marched on Khwārazm. Takish was encamping at a village called Subartī[2]. Mu'ayyid, who was in the van-guard, had to pass through that village and was absolutely unaware of Takīsh's presence there. The village in those days was irrigated with the waters of the Oxus and Takish was encamping at the edge of a steppe near the village. He therefore, ordered the water of the river to be deflected to the village. Subarti was flood-ed and Mu'ayyid's army had to wade through the water in small batches at a very slow pace. The detachment that included Mu'ayyid, was attacked, and he was taken prisoner and put to death.

Sulṭānshāh, hotly pursued by Takish, fled with his mother to Dihistān. She was however captured and killed, and Dihistān was incorporated in the kingdom of Khwārazm. Sultān Shāh was however not totally disappointed. He approached Ṭughānshāh son of Mu'ayyid who had recently succeeded his father, and invoked his aid. But Ṭughān was not in a position to lend him any sub-stantial[3] help. Being disappointed, he left for the territory of the Ghūrid Sultans.

1 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 18 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* Vol. IV, p. 138.

2 A place at the distance of 20 leagues from Khwārazm . Ibn al-Athīr, Vol XI, P. 169 ; Ibn al-*Kh*aldūn, Vol. V, P. 41

3 Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 91; *Habīb al-Siyar*, f. 166.

Taki<u>sh</u> who virtually owed his throne to the Qarā-<u>Kh</u>iṭā'īs wanted to live amicably with them, but their objectionable behaviour and arrogant treatment soon forced him to turn into a rebel. On a particular occasion the <u>Kh</u>ān's delegate treated him so slightingly in the presence of his nobles, that he ordered him to be put to death. Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh, hearing of this incident set out to incite the Qarā-<u>Kh</u>iṭā'īs against his brother. Sultan <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn, on Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh's request had supplied him with sufficient help in men and material. Arriving at the court of the Qarā-<u>Kh</u>iṭā'īs, he assured the queen, that the people of <u>Kh</u>wārazm were in perfect sympathy with his design, and that they would be too glad to help him in case <u>Kh</u>wārazm was attacked.

The queen, being fascinated by his baseless talk, deputed Fūnā, her husband, to proceed on that mission.[1] When the combined force reached the vicinity of <u>Kh</u>wārazm, Taki<u>sh</u> ordered a breach to be made in the embankment of the Oxus and deflected its channel to the enemy's camping-ground. It worked havoc, and it was actually, with great diffiuulty that Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh could save his forces from complete annihilation. In the meanwhile, Taki<u>sh</u> started in feverish haste, necessary preparations to cope with the emergency. Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh and Fūnā, after, disentangling themselves from the mess, approached the city of <u>Kh</u>wārazm and, to their utter disappointment, they realised that the inhabitants, one and all, were ready to oppose them. Fūnā repented of his hasty action and returned to Qarā-<u>Kh</u>iṭā.[2]

Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh's plan failed again. He begged Fūnā to leave some of his soldiers with him to enable him to retain a foot-hold in <u>Kh</u>urasan. Malik Dinār, a chief of the <u>Gh</u>uzz, had established himself in Sara<u>kh</u>s as a ruler, from the days when Sanjar was taken captive.[3] Sulṭān<u>sh</u>āh attacked him all of a sudden, and killed many of his soldiers. Malik Dīnār jumped into the ditch of the

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1 *Jahān Gu<u>sh</u>ā*, p. 19 ; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, f. 166.

2 Ibn al-A<u>th</u>ir, Vol. XI, p. 169 ; *Jāhān Gu<u>sh</u>ā*, p. 20.

3 Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>aldūn, Vol. V, p. 91.

fort from where his men dragged him into the fort, by catching the hair of his head. The Ghuzz shut themselves in, and Sulṭānshāh feeling helpless left for Marw. Arriving there he sent the Khiṭā'ī troops back.[1]

Sulṭānshāh repeated his attacks on Sarakhs so regularly that Malik Dīnār prayed to Ṭughānshāh to relieve him of the government of Sarakhs and send him to Bisṭām. The request was granted and Amir 'Umar Fīrūzkūhī was ordered to replace him. After a short while, the new governor was also fed up with his job. Ṭūghānshāh summoned him back to Nishāpūr and appointed Qaraqūsh in his place. In 576/1181 Sulṭānshāh marched on Sarakhs with an army of three thousand soldiers to fight Ṭūghānshāh;[2] who was also at Sarakhs at the head of ten thousand soldiers A furious battle was fought, which ended in the complete rout of Ṭūghānshāh and the loss of Sarakhs and Ṭūs to him. He had to retire to Nishāpur.

Sulṭānshāh continued attacking Ṭūghānshāh at regular intervals to make his life miserable. So much so that most of his nobles being fed up with that state of affairs went over to Sulṭānshāh. Ṭūghānshāh prayed to Takish and Ghiyath al-Dīn for help, but in vain. Thus disheartened he passed away in 582/1187.[3] Ṭūghānshāh was succeeded by his son Sanjar, but as he was a weak man, the affairs of the state were managed by Mangalī Ghighīn one of Mu'ayyid's slaves. Most of the nobles disapproved it and joined Sulṭānshāh's service.

In the beginning of 582/1187, Takish marched to Khurasan and Sulṭānshāh utilizing the opportunity of Khwārazmshāh's absence, marched on his capital and tried to woo the people. To counteract his brother's move Takish marched on Marw and invested it. Since the inhabitants of Khwārazm paid no attention to

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1 *Jahān Gushā*. Vol. II, p. 20.

2 He was having ten thousband soldiers. *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, f, 1006.

3 Ibn al-Athir Vol. XI, p. 169; *Jahān Gushā* (p. 21,) says that he died in 581/1186.

Sulṭānshāh's overtures, and at the same time, he learnt of the siege of his capital, he could not prolong his stay there. Having arrived at Amoyah, he left most of his men there ; and with fifty selected picked soldiers he made for Marw and striking against Takish's fortifications succeeded in passing through the ranks of army, and threw himself in Marw—a feat of valour indeed. Next morning, when Takish heared of it, he raised the siege and proceeded to Shadyākh. In 582/1187, in the month of *Rabi' al-Awwal*, he laid siege to Shadyākh, which lasted for two months. Ṭūghānshāh's son and Manqali Beg being tired of daily attacks sued for peace. The Khwārazmshāh raised the siege and left for Khwārazm and arriving there sent Shihāb al-Dīn Mas'ūd, Sayf al-Dīn Khwānsālār and Bahā al-Dīn Baghdādī to carry out the terms of the peace signed with Sanjar. But, Manqali put them all under arrest and despatched them to Sulṭānshāh, where they were kept in custody till a truce was signed between the brothers.[1]

When Sulṭānshāh heard of Khwārazmshāh's return to Khwārazm, he marched on Shadyākh to reduce it. But, as he soon realised that the citizens would not surrender and that Sanjar had been having an upper hand in the struggle, he left for Sabzwār[2] and laid a siege there. The inhabitants on the intercession of a holy man, Aḥmad Badīlī, capitulated on certain terms. In conformity with these terms, Sulṭānshāh entered the city and after an hour's stay left for Marw. Again in Muḥarram, 582/March, 1187 Takikh marched on Shadyākh and invested it. Manqalī, being helpless, requested the learned men of the town to intervene and beg pardon of the Khwārazmshāh on his behalf.

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1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol XI, p. 169. Ibn-i-Khaldūn (Vol. V. p. 92) says that Manqali was murdered by dissatisfied nobles, and Sanjar was taken captive and brought to Khwārazm. Soon, it was revealed to the Sultan that Sanjar was in communication with the pepole of Nishapur and was planning to escape. The Sultan blinded him and threw him in prison.

2 At four days march, due east of Nighapur in the district of Bayhaq lay the two cities of Sabzwār and Khusrūjird. Sabzwār, the chief town, was known a *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. p. 391.

Takish, was requested to accede to his request and grant him audience as he wanted to pay homage personally. The Khwārazm-shāh entered the town and after two month's stay there, he appointed a superintendent to make Manqalī return the amount, which he had unjustly exacted from people. Manqalī was then handed over to Fakhr al-Dīn Kūfī who in retaliation of his son's execution, put him to death.[1]

Takish leaving his son Malikshāh there, left for Khwārazm, in the month of *Rajab* the same year. No sooner did Sulṭānshāh hear of Takish's departure, than he marched on Shadyākh and invested it. Malikshāh requested his father for immediate help, Takish accordingly set out for Shadyākh, and arriving at Nasā, despatched one of his secret agent to inform Sulṭāshāh of t he Khwārazmshāh's arrival at the head of a large army. As Sulṭānshāh was not in a position to make a stand against his brother, he burnt his battering rams and departed. Takish, arriving at Shadyākh ordered for the repairs of the city walls and having got it done proceeded to Māzandrān to pass winter there. Almost all the chiefs of Khurasan, who hitherto had not joined Takish, acknowledged his suzerainty.[2]

At the advent of the next spring, a royal festival was celebrated in the well-known meadows of Radkan[3], situated in the vicinity of Ṭūs. Sulṭānshāh's delegates also attended the festival and requested the Khwārazmshāh to amicably settle their mutual differences. Takish approved of it. When Sulṭānshāh came to know of it, he ordered the release of those nobles of the Khwārazmshāh, whom Manqalī had arrested ; and sent them back to him. After accomplishing this important business the Khwārazm-shāh ascended the throne in 593/1183 and gave a royal feast to inaugurate the occassion.

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 22-25.

2 *Ībid* p. 25

3 Radhan is a place about half-way between *Kh*abushān and Tus, a small town celebrated as the birth place of Niẓām al-Mulk, the prime minister of Malikshāh, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 394.

Since his establishment at Marw, Sulṭānshāh had been ravaging the neighbouring districts of the kingdom of Ghūr, until Ghiyāth al-Dīn was compelled to march against him and inflicted a crushing defeat on him at Marw al-Rūd. As Sulṭānshāh was not abiding by the terms of peace Takish had also to march against him in 586/1191. He attacked Sarakhs, the arsenal of Sulṭānshāh: subsequently he returned to Radkan to pass summer there.[1] Again, peace was signed between the brothers, and to avoid a clash with Sulṭānshāh, Takish returned the fort of Sarakhs to him. He had it repaired and filled it with all sorts of provisions.

Qutlugh Inanaj b. Atābak Muḥammad, was the ruler of Iraq. He invited Takish to take combined action against Ṭughril[2], who after the death of his uncle Qizil-Arsalān had fled from the prison where he had been interned by his uncle and arriving in Iraq had defeated Inanaj and conqured it.[3] Takish, also marched thereto but Inanaj repented soon ; while the Khwārazmshāh was encamping at Rayy,[4] he shut himself in. When Ṭughril (1177/1194) learnt of the Khwārazmshāh's presence there, he entered into negotiations with him and made peace. Since, the climate of Rayy did not suit

1 *Jahān Gushā*. pp. 26-27; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 140.

2 Tughril succeeded his father Arsaān in 573/1177. His uncle Muḥammad b. Ilduzz was his *atabak*, who died after two years and was succeeded by his son Qizil-Arsalān. It was not long before when he fell out with Ṭughril and captured him and his son Malikshāh and imprisoned them in the fort of Kihran. But he soon died and Ṭughril was set at liberty. Reaching Iraq in 588/1190 he fought a battle against Inanaj at Qazwīn and routed him. In 590/1192 another battle was fought and Inanaj was again defeated. At this stage, Inanaj requested Takish to come to his help. Takish joined hands with him and Tughril was killed. *Guzidah*, pp. 473-478.

3 Abu al-Fīdā, says that when Tughril b. Arsalān had fled from the captivilty of Qizil-Arsalān b. Ilduzz in 558-1190, he had succeeded in obtaining the possesion of Hamadan and its vicinity by defeating Uzbak b. Pahlwān, brother of Qutlugh. This was the cause of invitation of the Khwārazmshah by Inanaj. *Tārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 89.

4 Rayy is a big town at one hundred and sixty leagues from Nishapur. It was built by Mahdi. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. IV, pp. 535-357.

Takish's soldiers, he appointed Tamghāch as his deputy and himself left for Khwārazm.[1]

On the way Takish learnt that Sulṭānshāh, being encouraged by his absence from Khwārazm, had laid siege to the city and was trying his best to capture it. The Khwārazmshāh[2] quickened his pace and arriving at Dihistān learnt that Sulṭānshāh, hearing of Takish's approach had raised the siege and made off. In the following spring Takiṣh again marched on Khurasan, to punish his ungrateful and opportunist brother. Since Sulṭānshāh knew that he was not a match for his edler brother, he tried to placate him and came to terms. Although the Khwārazmshāh had been trying his level best to accommodate him, nothing materialized because of the unreasonable attitude taken by Sulṭānshāh.

Badr al-Dīn Jaghrī, the commander of the fort of Sarakhs, was not on good terms with his master, Sulṭānshāh. After arresting the nobles who favoured Sulṭānshāh, he invited Takish to Sarakhs to take possession of the fort. Takish who was encamping at Abīward[3] accepted the generous offer. This unhappy incident pained Sulṭānshāh so much that he died after two days' sickness on 29 *Ramḍān*, 589/29 September 1193. Takish, taking possession of the kingdom and treasures of his deceased brother, appointed his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad as governor of Nishāpur, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Malikshāh as governor of Marw.[4]

On the death of his father in 569/1172 Sulṭānshāh had ascended the throne, but had soon been deposed by his elder brother Takish. His mother's vicegerency on his behalf shows that he

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 28-29.

2 *Abu al-Fidā*, says that when Takish heard of the seige around Khwārazm by Sultānshah, to disentangle himself he made peace with Ṭughril. *Tārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 896.

3 Raverty calls it Abiyard which is wrong, its corect pronunication is Abīward. It is the name of a town situated, between Nasā and Sarakhs. *Mū'jām al-Buldān*, Vol. I, p. 102.

4 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XI, p. 94; *Tārīkh-i-Abū al-Fidā*, pp. 29-30

was quite young at that time. His life ended in complete failure, which reveals that it was marred by rashness. During these twenty years he tried to make a place for himself in history and never missed any opportunity to extend his political influence. He fought not only against his brother, but against all those who obstructed his way. Undoubtedly he possessed the virtues of a soldier and a Sultan. The attachment of nobility and soldiery, despite his failures, is an undeniable proof of his efficient diplomacy. He was not without elasticity, essential for a foresighted ruler. He was a good judge of events, though he always erred in assessing his own potentialities. Had he been in the place of his father he would have cartainly achieved some thing more commendable.

'Alā' al-Dīn Takish Khwārazmshāh

Although, Takish had been ruler of Khwārazmian territory for the last twenty-one years, yet i was only on the death of his brother that he assumed the title of Sultan. On the previous occasion when Ṭughril was defeated by Takish, he had consented to pass on the province of Rayy to him by way of compensation in order to reconcile the Sultan.[1] Takish after passing the summer at Rayy, had returned to Khwārazm, leaving Tamghāj as his deputy there; but Ṭughril, puffed as he was by his prowess, set the compromise at naught, and when Takish was busy with his unruly brother, he attacked Tamghāj, captured the fort of *Tabrūk*[2] and turned him out of Rayy. Takish to punish him for this breach of faith, moved to Iraq in 590/1194 at the head of a large army. Inanaj, who had previously acted quite unwisely, arrived at

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Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah, (p. 493) says that the Sultan was requested by Inanaj to come to Iraq. On the way he conquered Rayy, and it was after one year's interval that he fought against Ṭughril, killed him and assumed the title of Sultan.

2 It is styled by the author of the *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, (p. 217) as Tubrik, a fort built by the Caliph Mahdi. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, states that this fort was destroyed in 588/1192 by Ṭughril II, the last Saljuqid Sultan of Iraq.

Simnān[1] (or Khwārazm as Ibn al-Athīr says),[2] with the nobility of Iraq to receive Takish and humbly apologised for offences committed. The Sultan received him with open arms and placing him at head of the Iraqi army asked him to march against Ṭughril who was encamping at Rayy.[3]

Ṭughril was an excellent soldier and a warrior of great renown. He was so proud of his gallantry, that he often recited the following verses of *Shāhnāmah*.

چو زان لشکر گشن برخاست گرد رخ نامداران ما گشت زرد
من آن گرز یک زخم برداشتم سپاه را همان جائی به گزاشتم
خروشی خرو شیدم از پشت زین که چون آسیاشد پریشان زمین

Both the armies met at a distance of three leagues from Rayy[4]. By chance Ṭughril and Inanaj, when the battle was at its full fury, came face to face and were soon engaged in a hand to hand fight. Ṭughril wrongly struck his own horse with a mace which he intendend for hi opponent but had missed his aim. The horse could not stand the blow, and fell down with his rider. Inanaj jumped down from his horse and killed him. The head was sent to the Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Ẓāhir bi Allāh (1180-1225) on whose incitement he had been fighting th Sultan, and his body was exposed on a gibbet in the square of Rayy The Sultan then marched to Hamadān and after capturing some fortresses of Iraq he passed them on to the son of Jahān Pahlwān.[5]

In 590/1193-4, the Caliph sent one of his ministers, Mu'ayyid al-Din b. 'Ali al-Qaṣṣāb with a robe of honour to the Sultan's

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1 Half-way between Dāmghān and Rayy is the city of Simnān on the Khurasan road, known for its abundant fruits. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*' p. 366.

2 Ibn Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 50.

3 Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 94; *Jāhān Gusha*, p. 33; Jami' al-Tawārikh f. 1009.

4 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 33.

5 *Ibid*, PP. 30-31.

court, hoping that the problem might be solved in this way. When he arrived at Asadābād,[1] about ten thousand men from among the Arab and Kurd tribes gathered around him. Puffed up with this unexpected reception, he wrote to the Sultan, that as he was coming from the court of the Commander of the Faithful with a robe of honour, the Sultan should personally receive him and at the same time he with all nobles and chiefs should walk bare-headed in front of his horse as a mark of respect to the Caliph. The Sultan might have devised a via media to keep up appearances, but the mischief-mongers poisoned his ears with the reports that the minister was instructed by the Caliph to kill the Sultan.[2] To bring the insolent minister to his senses the Sultan despatched a troop of soliders who routed him in no time. The minister made for Khūzistān, where he conqured a few places and thus got a foot-hold.

Takish after capturing Iraq, conferred the rule of Iṣfahān on Inanaj, leaving all the chiefs of Iraq with him. The territory of Rayy and its dependencies were conferred on his son Yūnus Khān with Mianjaq as his *atabak* and commander of the army. Takish was on his way back to Khurāsān when he heard the news of illness of the prince, Malikshāh at Marw. He sent for him and when the Prince arrived at Ṭūs he recovered. As the climate of Marw did not agree with him, he was transferred to Nishāpur with Shadyākh as his residential quarters.

In the winter of 591/1195 Takish marched on Siqnāq to fight against Qātar Bāqū Khān. When he arrived at Jand, Bāqū Khān ran away. There was a considerable number of Uranian Turks in the Sultan's army who had a soft corner for Bāqū. They secretly conveyed their sympathies to him, asking him to fight the Sultan giving him assurance, that by deserting him they would stab

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1 Asadābād is a well-known city on the boundry of Iraq at a distance of a march from Hamadān towards Iraq. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. I, p. 226. The author of *The Lands of the Eastern Calipate* (p. 168) styles it Astarābād.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, vol. XII, p. 50 ; *Jahān Gushā*. PP. 33-36

Takish's forces in the back. On this Bāqū returned, and took his position against Takish. The battle started and the Uranain, as already conspired attacked the Sultan's army; who being thus taken unawares, took to their heels. A considerable number of the Sultan's army laid their lives, and the remainder were scattered away in the desert where many of them died of thirst and hunger. For more than a fortnight nothing was known about the Sultan's whereabouts, till after seventeen days absence he returned to Khwārazm.

While Takish was engaged with Bāqū Khān, the Caliph of Baghdad sent an army to Iraq to materialise his long cherished desire. To drive the Caliph's forces out of Iraq Yūnus Khān sought help of his elder brother Malikshāh, governor of Nīshāpur but befoe his brother's arrival Yūnus Khān drove away the Caliph's forces. The brothers, however, met at Hamadān and after a brief stay, Malikshāh returned to Khurāsān. He thereafter left Arsalān Shāh as his deputy in Khurāsān and himself set out for Khwārazm to see his father.

Malikshāh's absence from Khurāsān offered an opportunity toa group of disaffected persons to create trouble. They induced Sanjar son of Ṭughānshāh to revolt against Takish. Sanjar, who was recently deprived of sovereignty was being treated with extreme kindness by the Sultan. Takish in order to bring him nearer, had married his own sister to Sanjar and his (Sanjar's) widowed mother to himself. Sanjar's mother, who was disgusted with the poor condition of her only son, had been in touch with the people of Nīshāpur. To win them over to support the lost cause of her son she distributed enormous sums of money among them through her agents. The plot was unearthed and Sanjar was summoned by the Sultan and blinded. Tee following quatrain was composed by him at this occasion :-

تا چرخ مرابه بدگمانی برخاست دل از سرکار اینجهانی برخاست

چون دست قضا چشم‌مرامیل کشید فریاد ز عالم جوانی برخاست

This happended in 591/1195.[1]

Due to some trouble with his eyes, Yūnus Khān left for Khwārazm leaving Mianjaq there to officiate for him. The Caliph of Baghdad was again busy in recuriting an army to march on Iraq under the command of one of his ministers. To render assistance to Mianjaq, Ināaj arrived at Rayy and put up with him. After a few days, the unkind host murdered his guest, and sent his head to the Sultan with the message that, as Īnānaj was not loyal at heart, he had put an end to his life.

In 592/1196 the Sultan marched to Iraq, and reaching Hamadān encamped there.[2] The Caliph's minister with his army was at Hamadān. After a few days a severe battle took place, which ended in the complete rout of the Caliph's forces. It is said that the Caliph's ministers had actually passed away, just a few days before the actual battle had taken place, but the news had been kept secret, to avoid its consequences. His grave was dug by the Sultan'r order and his head was cut off and sent to Khwārazm.[3]

The Sultan after some time left for Khwārazm, leaving his grand son Arbūsh b. Ṭaghādi Khān as governor of the place, with Pīghū as his *atabak*[4] Malikshāh was appointed governor of Khurasan and was definitely told not to go to Marw, but he was fond of game and Marw being a good hunting ground, he went there and fell a victim to its disagreeable climate. He died in 953 on 9 *Rabī' al-Awwal*/1st, March, 1197. There was danger of a rising in Khurasan by his decendants. The Sultan, at once, despatched Niẓām al-Mulk Ṣadr al-Dīn Mas'ūd to Shadyākh, to control the situation and send Malikshāh's survivors to the court. After a while, Takish instructed Prince Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad to take

1 *Guzīdah*, p. 493.

2 It is a town situated on the river of Sahwah. It is rich in fruits. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 222.

3 *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 36-39.

4 Abu al-Fidā, vol. III, p. 93; *Jāhān Gushā*, p. 40

1 *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. IV, p. 142.

over as governor of Shadyākh. In the meanwhile Qātar Bāqū and his nephew[1] Alp Darak fell out with each other[2]. The nephew prayed to the Sultan for military help on the understanding that he would acknowledge his overlordship in case of his success. Qaṭar[3] with his army was encamping at Jand. Takish summoned Quṭb al-Ḍīn Muḥammad from Shadyākh to avenge the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Bāqū. The prince arrived at Khwārazm and after making necessary preparations marched to Jand. In *Rabi' al-Awwal*/594 January, 1198, the Prince and Alp Darak had a battle at Jand. Bāqū along with almost all his nobles was captured and brought to Khwārazm in chains[4].

Bāqū's army was left without a leader. They in a body went over to Alp Darak and compelled him to rebel against the authority of the Sultan. Takish, having come to know of it, ordered the release of Bāqū, after eliciting a promise of loyalty from him. He was provided with a large army to break the power of his nephew. Bāqū made for Jand and succeeded in over-throwing Alp Darak.

In 594/1198 the ruler of Bāmyān, Bahā' al-Dīn Sām, son of Muḥammad, captured Balkh[5], which was till then ruled by a Turkish prince, the vassal of Qarā-Khiṭā'is. The ruler suddenly died and Sām took over possession of the city and introduced *khuṭbah* in the name of Ghīayth al-Dīn (1183-1202) the Sultan of Ghūr. As Ghīyāth al-Dīn, in compliance with the wishes of the Caliph, was carrying on a war against Takish, the Khwārazmshāh, therefore, re-

1 It is said that the Sultan had already annexed Kirmān to his kingdom. *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 493.

2 He was his sister's son. Ibn Khaldūn. vol. VI, p. 142

3 His name was Ghabar Baqū. His nepe was Alburz Turk. *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 493.

4 *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 40-41.

5 In these days it was the greatest city of Khurasan and was called mother of towns. It had three concentric walls with thirteen gates. The famous temple of Naw Bahār was at a distance of 4 leagues from the town. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. p. 420.

quested the Qarā-Khiṭāī's for military aid against the Sultan of Ghūr. The same year an army of the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs under the command of Tayankū, crossed the Oxus and laid waste the districts situated nearby. The Qarā-Khiṭā'īs asked Sām, the ruler of Balkh, to either give up the possession of the city, or agree to pay tribute. But Sām kept silent. As Shihāb al-Dīn (1203-1206) the commander of the Ghūrid forces was engaged in India, Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself, being indisposed, disentangled himself from the war against Takish and marched on Bukhāra to exchange a few blows with the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs who were besieging the city. The Ghūrid commanders attacked the Qarā-Khiṭā'ī forces at night and routed them completely. Next morning the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, coming to learn that Ghiyāth al-Dīn was not with the army, rallied once again around their leader and attacked the Ghūrids. The Ghūrids who were ready to face the eventuality inflicted another crushing defeat upon the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs. They lost a large number of soldiers on the battle-field and a considerable number of them were drowned in the Oxus, while crossing it on their way back home. As this army was despatched on the request of Takish, the Gurkhān asked for a payment of ten thousand *dīnārs* per head for the twelve thousand soldiers who had died in the mishap[1]. Although the statement is found both in Ibn al-Athīr and *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* the original sources of the history of this dynasty, yet it appears altogether improbable, rather unbelievable, Firstly, in middle ages no such institution viz. payment of damages existed ; secondly, it was beyond the capacity of Takish to pay such a huge amount by way of compensation thirdly the Gūrkhān himself ought to have realized the absurdity of his demand[2] of ten thousand *dīnārs* per head for twelve thousand soldiers lost in that clash.

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII. pp. 88-21.

2 Juwaynī's account is somewhat different, He says that the Sultan after annexing Rayy, Hamadān and Isfahan to his kingdom, marched to Iraq to compel the Caliph to read *khutbah* in his name. The Caliph on the other hand wrote to Ghiyāth al-Dīn to attack Khwārazm to divert Takish's attention. Learning of the design the Sultan returned to Khwārazm and signed peace

The Sultan entered into negotiations with Ghiyāth al-Dīn. He advised Takish to behave properly towards the Caliph and to compensate him for the loss suffered by those people who were pillaged by the Qarā Khitā'īs Having established relations with Ghiyāth, Takish gave a flat refusal to the unreasonable demand of the Gur Khān and retorted that, since their defeat at the hands of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, was an outcome of wrong strategy, he in no way could be held responsible for that. However, this incursion of theirs was undertaken at their own initiation, and not at his request ; hence the demand for compensation money was absolutely wrong. Besides, he had signed a treaty with Ghiyāth al-Dīn and ceased to be, henceforth, their dependent. The demand, if any, should be made directly to the court of Ghur.

The Qarā-Khitā'īs[1] exasperated by such an insolent reply from the Khwārazmshāh, marched on Khwārazm and laid a siege. Takish was fully prepared to meet the foe. He made so many night attacks on them that they could not withstand them. Most of them were either killed or fled. Takish gave them a hot chase, and they had no alternative but to shut themselves in Bukhara. The Sultan besieged the town for a considerable period and the inhabitants found themselves in great distress.

They tried their best and made many requests the Sultan to raise the siege ; but in view of the presence of the Qarā-Khitā'īs inside the city their request was not granted. The inhabitants, in desperation, one day, caught hold of an one-eyed dog, placed a cap on its head and showing it to the Khwārazmian army and calling it their Sultan, hurled it down into their camp from the

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(Continued from page 30)
with the Sultan of Ghūr. Ghiyath al-Dīn on this occasion, reproached the Sultan for his unholy design against the Caliph. Having disengaged himself of this mess, the Sultan after some time wrote to the Qara-Khitā'īs for a joint action against Ghiyāth al-Dīn. He frightened them (Qarā-Khitā'īs) of dire consequences in case of non co-operation. *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 41-42.

1 Ibn al-Athīr Vol. XII, pp 64-65 ; *Ibn al-Khaldūn*, Vol. V, pp, 95-96 ; Abu al-Fidā, Vol, III. p 93.

parapet.[1] As the Sultan was blind in one eye, this action infuriated Takish, and he made a severe attack on the city. Bukhara fell and the citizens, despite their impertinence, were granted amnesty[2].

The same year 594/1198, the Sultan left for Shadyākh on his way to Iraq to set right Mianjaq, who taking advantage of the Sultan's engagement, was dreaming of independence. Arriving at Mazandran[3] he put up there to pass winter before marching on to Iraq at the advent of spring. Though Mianjaq had enlisted a large army, yet, hearing of the Sultan's approach, he ran away. Most of his men deserted him and with a handful of those who were left with him, he was running from pole to post before the Sultans troops. During that interval Mianjaq's envoys waited upon the Sultan begging his pardon for his short-comings. But, since Mianjaq avoided to personally report himself before the Sultan, Takish refused to accede to his request. The Sultan, at last being tired of this fruitless hide and seek, deputed a chief to capture Mianjaq. They chased him and one night they fell on his forces and put a large number of his men to the sword.

By chance he escaped, and set out for Firuzkuh[4] a fort which he quite treachorously conqured killing the Sultan's garrison. Mianjaq fortified the castle as best as he could and shut himself in. It was invested by the Takish's detachment who were closely chasing him. However, he could not hold long against them. The fort was captured and Mianjaq with his army was sent to the Sultan who was encamping at Qazwin.[5] Although, Mianjaq for

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 65.

2 Juwayni says that people of Bukhara were severely punished. *Jahān-Gushā*, p. 42.

3 It is also called Ṭabaristan.

4 Firuzkuh is a castle in Damawand, a well known mountain. This castle had its water from a stream which flowed out to the plain. This is one of the castles of Mazandran that was conquered by Timūr. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 371,

5 It was one hundred miles north west of Tehran and was ruined by the Mongols. *Ibid.* pp. 218-19.

his disloyal behaviour, deserved capital punishment, the Sultan, having full regard for his brother Āqchak's sincere services, spared his life, and after keeping him in prison for a year or so, sent him to Jand to pass his remaining days there.

Just on this occasion, there arrived from Baghdad, Caliph's delegates with a robe of honour and a mandate conferring on Takish the rule of Khurasan, Turkistan and Iraq. This mandate of the Caliph loses its significance, when we understand that all the three provinces conferred on the Sultan were already under his sway for a considerable period and the Caliph himself had not very long ago made a request to the Sultan for a portion of Iraq, and it was for this reason that the Caliph was all along inciting the court of Ghur against Takish. The Caliph had realized after all that Takish was too obstinate to yield to his unreasonable territorial demand. Hence this, to keep up the appearances.

The followers of Ḥasan b. Sabbāḥ, the Sultan's next door neighbours were not behaving properly and Takish had to march against them. A siege was laid around one of the stronghold called Arsalān-Gushā,[1] the strongest of all and the centre of their obnoxious activities. The fort was conqured after a siege of four months. The Sultan returned to Khwārazm after appointing prince Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh as Governor of Iraq. This defeat was a severe blow to the prestige of the Assassins. They thought that the invasion was undertaken at the instigation of Niẓām al-Mulk, the prime Minister of the Sultan. a deadly enemy of this sect. The *mulāḥidah* (infidels) in retaliation and revenge, stabbed the great minister to death in the vicinity of Nahawand.[2]

The incident of the Niẓām al-Mulk's death, at the dagger of the Assassian's though recorded by almost all the historians, is a great historical error. Niẓām al-Mulk, was the prime minister at

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1 Arsalan Gushī is the name of a foit situated at the gate of Qazwin. Ibn al-Athīr. Vol. XII, p. 71.

2 Nahawand is acity at three days distance from Hamadan. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. VIII, p.329.

the court of Jalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh, a well known Saljuqid Sultan who ascended the throne in 465/1073 and died in 485/1092 long before Takish was born. The name of the Takish's prime Minister according to *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah.*[2] was Shams al-Dīn Hariwah and not Niẓām al-Mulk. Since so many sultans and ministers fell victims to the dagger of the Assassins, the historians probably lost sight of the right man, and it is strange that nobody tried to sift the truth.

This unfortunate event pained the Sultan very much and he instructed prince Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad to march against the Assassins. He advanced at Tarshiz[3] and besieged it. The Sultan was also on the verge of marching against them, when he suddenly fell ill. Although he recovered soon, yet being extremely weak he was advised by royal physicians not to move from his bed. But as the Sultan wanted to severely punish his inhuman neighbours, he ignored the warning of the royal physician, and set out on this expedition. The disease relapsed and the Sultan died on his way on 19th Ramaḍān[4] 596/3rd July, 1200.

Takish, as observed by some of the historians, was disowned by his father in the interest of his younger brother, Sulṭānshāh, who ascended the throne when the former was at Jand. Sulṭānshāh's mother, the late Khwārazmshāh's favourit queen, winning

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1 Ibn al-Athīr (Vol. VII, p. 71) says he was killed in 593/1197 and was buried at Khwārazm. Abu al-Fidā says that he was buried at Shahristanah, (Vol III, p. 98). Cf. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 47; *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, f. 1012; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol IV, p. 142.

2 *Tārīkh-i-Gūzidah*, p. 493.

3 Tarshiz or Tarshizh is a city in the Nishapur district. *Mu'jam al-Buldān* Vol. IV, p. 376. In the north west corner of Kohistan is the district of Bust of which the chief towns were Tarshiz and Kundur. It was a very populous city known for its fertile lands. It had a beautiful mosque which could rival that of Damascus. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 354.

4 According to Abu al-Fidā (Vol. III, p. 98), he died on the 20th *Ramḍān*, 596/4th July, Juwayni says that he died on the 19th *Ramḍān*, 596/3rd July1199 (*Jahān Guā*); Vol II, p. 46; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Vol I, f. 168, Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 74 *Nāmah-i-Khusrawān*, Vol. II, p. 65

over the nobles of the court to her cause had secured the crown for her own son. Takish, had a Herculean task before him to make a place for himself. Despite utter disregard on the part of Sulṭānshāh, Takish always treated him kindly and never refused him any favour whenever he directly or indirectly made a request to him.

On many occasions. he even forgave those of his opponents who had fought tooth and nail against him. The case of Mianjaq, in this connection, can be safely quoted. Like all other absolute monarchs, he loved power, but before resorting to the sword he often tried persuasive methods to win over the enemy. To appease Sanjar son of Ṭughril, he married his mother and gave his own sister in marriage to him. On the discovery of the unholy plot designed against him, Takish blinded the young prince apparently after great hesitation. Ghurid's court was at the zenith of its power during his rule. On several occasions he fought against them and got an upper hand. By regular attacks he weakened this state so much, that after the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn it fell like a ripe fruit in the lap of the next Khwārazmshāh. He annexed Turkistan, Iraq and a considerable portion of Khurasan to his dominions, a kingdom double the size of the one he had inherited from his father. Though for a considerable time he went on paying a tribute of thirty thousand *dīnārs* to the Qarā-Khiṭā'is, as long as it suited his convenience, yet he threw off their yoke at the first opportunity.

His uncontrollable ambitions brought him in actual opposition to the Caliph of Baghdad. He demanded of him that the *khuṭbah* should be read in his name, just as it was read earlier in the name of the Saljuqid Sultans. But the Caliph was made of sterner stuff and could not be so easily cowed down. Not only did he antagonise the Caliph, the religious head of the Muslims, but also estranged the Muslim clergy of his own empire, who of and on preached dissatisfaction against him. This unfortunate disruption did incalculable harm to the Sultan himself, to the Caliph and the Muslim *millat* as a whole. The mutual hatred resulted in

an unending war which weakened both the parties and within half a century both the dynasties were wiped off from the surface of the earth.

Takish's relationship with the house of Qibchāq, helped him a lot in reducing most of the neighbouring countries. They were a virile tribe of nomad Turks ; but as a matter of fact this unruly military class contributed more to the disintegration of the Empire during the reign of his son than to its consolidation. He married Turkān Khātūn, a strong, self-willed and cruel lady, who interfered even in the most important state affairs and poor Takish could not oppose her, frightened as he was of his queen's powerful family. They were most un-reliable people. They fought for him whenever it suited their convenience, and arrayed themselves against him, whenever they liked to do so. They set at naught the authority of the Sultan and acted according to the dictates of their own sweet will.

So far Takish is concerned, he was a wise and sagacious monarch, strict in administering justice and liberal in doing good to his subjects. He was a witty and intelligent man well-versed in jurisprudence and belonged to the Ḥanafi sect.[1]

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1 *Nāmah-i-Khusrawān*, p. 54

CHAPTER II

'ALĀ' AL-DIN MUḤAMMAD*

The prince was actively engaged in the siege of Tarshiz, when all of a sudden, he got the sad news of his father's death. At such occasions all absolute monarchs have had to be very careful and vigilant to avoid rebellion and anarchy. The prince kept the news secret, and though the city was on the verge of surrender, he pretending sickness prepared to retire. The Assassins, thinking it a ruse were highly afraid lest the prince's departure should bring something worse in its trail. They sent him precious presents and offered one lac of *dinārs*, as annual tribute. As he could not pursue the matter further, he accepted the offer and set out in all haste to Khwārazm. The prince ascended the throne on the 20th *Shawwāl*, 596/3rd August, 1199 with the name and title of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khawārazmshāh.

On the death of Takish his son Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh was the governor of Isfahan, whom 'Alā al-Dīn summoned to Khwārazm. He, without any rhyme or reason, pillaged the city of Nishapur, while on his way to visit his brother. The Sultan strongly resented this action and after serving him with a severe warning, transferred him to Khurasan.

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* During the lifetime of Sultan Takish he had the title of Quṭb al-Dīn. On the death of his elder brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Malikshāh, heir-apparent, the government of Nishapur was conferred on him. Sharf al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Ḥasan was appointed as his *atabak*. (*Jahān Ghushā*, p. 46). On his maternal side the Sultan belonged to the house of Qibchāq, known for their valour. His mother Turkāni-Khātūn was a lady of marvellous influence and strong will. *Ibid*, p. 198.

During the time of the late-Sultan, Hindū Khān son of Malik-shāh,, the deceased crown-prince, had been working as the governor of Nishapur. Since the brothers were not on good terms, Hindū Khān having come to know of his uncle's enthronment, left for the Ghurid court and having installed himself in Marw made incursions into Khurasan.

The Sultan deputed Janqar al-Turki to put and end to his nuisance. Hindū Khān being unable to withstand the Sultan's attacks, ran away to Herat, where he was received with open arms by Shihāb al-Dīn. The commander of the Sultan's army annexed Marw and despatched Hindū Khān's family to Khawārazm.[1] Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was already unfriendly towards the Sultan asked Muḥammad b. Jarik to march against Janqar and turn him out of Marw. Before mounting a military expedition Muḥammad b. Jarik advised Janqar to surrender. The fickle Janqar, consented to betray his royal maeter, provided he was granted a mandate of safety by Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself.

This imbecility of the Sultan's commander was due to the fact that Muḥammad Jarik[2] was considered the greatest warrior of his time. From a personal weakness of Sanjar the Sultan of Ghur[3] inferred that 'Alā al-Ḍīn himself was weak and unable to

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Tārikh, Vol. XII, p. 74.

2 Ibn Khaldūn Vol. (V, p. 97) styles him Kharbak *Jahān Gushā* (p. 48) as Kharbak; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (Vol. IV, p. 144) as Kharik. It appears that the word is Kharbeg written as Kharbak in Arabic, meaning the greatest Beg which in Turkish is a military commander. Such titles were common among people of those ages; for instance Kharpost and Kharzoar.

3 The great mountain region to the east and south of Gharjisān was known as *Ghur* or *Ghuristān* and it stretched from Herat to Bāmiyan to the borders of Kabul and *Ghaznin* and also to the south of Herat river. After the fall of the dynasty of Maḥmūd of Ghaznin the Ghurid Chiefs. became independent and founded their capital at Firozskuh, a fortress in the mountain, the actual situation of which is not known. These princes ruled from the middle of 4th century upto 612/1215 when they were defeated by the Khwārazmshāhs. Ghūr attained to the highest point of splendour and riches between 543/612-1148/1215, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 416-417.

oppose him. It induced him to make inroads on the neighbouring province of Khurasan, Hindū Khān was reinstalled in Marw and Muḥammad Jarik, being elated at his easy victory, proceeded further and reduced Sarakhs, Nasā and Abīward and appointed Zangī b. Mas'ūd as governor of those places.

The encouraged Ghurid brothers marched on Tus at the head of a huge army with ninety elephants. The city after a short investment capitulated. It was plundered and completely devastated. The Ghurid army proceeded to attack Nishapur. But Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, who coming from Iraq was encamping at Nishapur refused to surrender. He ordered that all buildings and trees in the vicinity of the town that could afford protection to the enemy should be demolished and uprooted forthwith. Ghiyāth al-Dīn, on his arrival summoned his own son and encouraged him to hoist the Ghurid flag on the fort, before the arrival of Shihāb al-Dīn. The young prince succeeded in doing so, but the city actually fell only when Shihāb al-Dīn arrived. The soldiers entering the town plundered it and practised all sorts of irregularities and high-handedness. Ghiyāth al-Dīn having come to know of it, proclaimed, by the beat of drum, that entire plundered property should be returned to the owners at once ; otherwise those found in possession of looted property would be put to death[1].

'Alīshāh, along with the nobles of his court, was arrested and brought in the presence of Ghiyāth al-Dīn. They were treated with respect[2] and sent to Herat as prisoners of war. This expedition, temporarily, ended in the fall of a considerable portion of country to the Ghurid brothers. Bistām and Jurjān were also annexed. Having accomplished this, Ghiyāth al-Dīn returned to

1 Juwanyni says that the motive for this proclaimation was simply to win over the people of the Nishapur, *Jahān Gushā*, p. 49.

2 Juwayni says that they were treated most disgracefully. *Ibid.*

Herat leaving his son-in-law Ḍiyā al-Dīn[1] at Nishapur as governor of the newly conquered provinces. Shihāb al-Dīn himself proceeded to Khuzistan[2] to wage a war against the heretics of Alamut.[3]

As soon as this alarming news reached 'Alā al-Dīn, he wrote to Ghiyāth al-Dīn," I on the death of my father was under the impression that if ever I needed your Majesty's help against the Qarā-Khiṭā'is, you would not grudge me that. But to my utter disappointment, your forces attacked my dominions at a time when I wasmourning the loss of my venerable father. I, hereby, request you to withdraw your forces from my territory, otherwise I shall be obliged to march against you and solicit the help of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is, if need be". As Shihāb al-Dīn was away on a military expedition to India, Ghiyāth al-Dīn was awaiting his return and postponing the matter indefinitely. The Sultan could see through the game and wrote to Ḍiyā al-Dīn, to withdraw, at once from Nishapur. He communicated contents of 'Alā al-Dīn's letter to his father-in-law and awaited instructions ; for he knew that the inhabitants were in full sympathy with the Khwārazmshāh and there was a danger of insurrection any moment. Ghiyāth al-Dīn assured his son-in-law of immediate help and asked him to brave the danger. The Sultan set out for Shadyakh on the 15th[4] Dhil *Hijjah*, 597/25th September, 1201 and arriving early next year before Nishapur,[5] encamped there.

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1 His title was 'Alā al-Dīn. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarikh*, Vol, V, P. 97.

2 The province of *Kh*uzistan was generally held to be a dependency of Khurasan It for the most part, has a cold climate. It was inhabited by Kurds who reared sheep and goats. Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārikh*, Vol. XII, p, 80 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, Vol V, p 97 ; *The Lands of the Eastren Caliphate*, pp. 354-55.

3 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, P. 81, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, Vol. V, p. 97.

4 17th *Dhil Hijjar*, 597, *Jahān Gushā*, P. 49.

5 The Sultan advanced on Nishapur after conquring Marw, Nasā and Abīward, Ibn Khaldun, *Tārikh*, Vol. V, P. 98. The Sultan encamped on the banks of the Nur. *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, f. 1013.

After a few skirmishes outside the town, the Ghurid army retired into the city. Being unable to affectively resist the Sultan's forces, they sued for peace through the learned and pious men of the city. The Sultan acceded to their request and treated them respectfully[1] to compensate for the treatment meted out to his younger brother on a previous occasion. The city walls were razed to the ground, to leave no room for the enemy to re-occupy the place. Ḍiyā al-Dīn was allowed by the Khwārazmshāh to proceed to Herat and requested him to arrange for a compromise with Sultan brothers, to avoid further bloodshed.[2]

Having freed himself of this engagement, 'Alā al-Dīn advanced on Sarakhs. The place at that time was under Zangī b. Mas'ūd who shut himself in and refused to admit the Sultan. The Sultan consequently laid a siege which lasted for forty days, as a result of which a famine of victuals and fuel raged in the city. Zangī being helpless, played a trick upon the Sultan and, for some time, saved himself and his men from starvation. He conveyed to the Sultan his readiness to surrender the town and vacate it, provided the Sultan with his army moved at some distance from the gate, through which he and his men wanted to pass out.

As 'Alā al-Dīn could not see through his design he withdrew his forces and awaited the evacuation of the town from the distance of a mile or so.

The gate opened and Zangī[3] with his army marched out of the city, in compliance with the terms of the peace. But to the utter bewilderment of the Sultan and his army, Zangī's men

1 He conferred robe of honour on them. Jahān-Gushā. p. 50.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII p. 81.

3 Juwaynī says that Zangī was governing Sarakhs on behalf of Hindū Khān who was installed there by the Ghurid court, after the death of Takish *Jahān Gushā*, p. 50.

pounced upon the camp of the Khwārazmian army and taking away all the store they could lay their hands on, returned to the town and again shut themselves in. As already sufficient time had been wasted in the investment of the town, and the stores recently taken away by Zangī could last for a considerable period, the Sultan leaving there some of his nobles and a portion of his army, himself left for Khwārazm. When Muḥammad b. Kharbeg, who was at Tāliqān,[1] heard of the Sultan's departure, he proceeded to Sarakhs to assist Zangī. As the Khwārazmian army could not face the enemy, both from within and without, it raised the siege and retired.

Zangī in co-ordination with Muḥammad b. Kharbeg, conquired Marw al-Rud[2] and the places situated in that vicinity, and incorporated them into the Ghurid Empire. The Khwārazmshāh on his way to Khwarazm heard of this mishap and deputed his maternal uncle with three thousand soldiers to meet the enemy. Although the strength of the enemy's forces was not more than nine hundred men, the Khwārazmians were utterly routed. When the news of this disaster reached the Khwārazmshāh, he in order to gain time and make necessary preparations, sued for peace. But when the delegates were exchanged and Ghiyāth al-Dīn's ambassador[3] arrived, the Sultan ordered his arrest and himself marched to Herat[4] to reduce it.

1 Tāliqān is a city between Marw al-Rud and Balkh at a distance of three stages from the later. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. VI, p. 7. Tāliqan is a district lying between the Sultaniah plains and the northern mountain range: It was a most populous and fertile region. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 225.

2 A place situated at five days march, from Marw Shāhjan on the bank of a river. *Mu'jām al-Buldān*, Vol. VIII, p. 32.

3 Ibn Khuldun styles him as Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Marghāni. *Tārikh'* Vol.V, p. 99. Juwayni says that his name was Ḥusayn b. Muhammad Marghānī. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 50.

4 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, pp. 81-2, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, Vol. V, pp. 98-99.

During the reign of the late-Khwārazmshāh, Takish, there were two brothers, who were diligent worker and were posted at Sarakhs. When the Sultan died, both gave up their jobs and joined Ghiyāth al-Dīn. There also they were held in high esteem by the Ghurid brothers and were trusted so much so that they were in the know of almost all the military movements and programmes. But being in sympathy with 'Alā al-Dīn, they secretly communicated all that passed at the Ghurid court and invited him to invade Herat. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, Ghiyath al-Dīn's delegate, who was in the custody of the Sultan, got a clue of their treachery and conveyed it to his brother 'Umar b. Muḥammad, the acting governor of Herat. But as both the brothers were regarded reliable and were custodians of the keys of the fort the report was regarded as a baseless rumour. By chance Ḥusayn intercepted a letter written by them to 'Alā al-Dīn, and sent it back to 'Umar, his brother at Herat. The governor summoned them to explain ; but as they could not defend themselves against charges of treason, they were executed.[1]

The Sultan arriving at Herat' ordered a siege and also despatched a portion of his army to attack Tāliqān. Muḥammad b. Kharbeg, the governor of the place was there to meet the foe. He boldly marched out of the city and competely routed the Sultan's forces.[2]

Hearing of the siege Ghiyāth al-Dīn deputed his nephew[3] Alp Ghāzī to go to Herat and attack besiegers. Soon after Ghiyāth himself also followed and encamped at some distance from the city. Shihāb al-Dīn was in India, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn was anxiously awaiting his arrival. Full forty days passed away,

1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 82, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*, Vol. V, p. 99.

2 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 92, Ibn Khaldūn says that not a single man out of them could escape. *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, pp. 99.

3 *Jahān Gushā*, al-Būshani, p. 50.

and there was absolutely no sign of weakness visible in the besieged[1]. In the meanwhile the news ofShihāb al-Dīn's approach to Herat spread far and wide and brisk activities were observed on both the sides. The Ghurids realised that the hour to strike was approaching fast and full preparations were afoot to punish the Khwārazmians for their impertinence. The Sultan repented of his advanee on Herat. and sending for Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who was still in his custody, deputed him to arrange for a compromise with the Ghurīd house. But without waiting for the outcome of this negotiation 'Alā al-Dīn raised the seige and left for Marw in 598/1202.

When[2] Shihāb al-Dīn on his return from India heard of the Sultan's attack on Herat and the sufferings of people thereby, he marched on Khwārazm via Balkh. The Sultan was still encamping at Marw. Both the armies met and a severe battle was fought, in which a large number of soldiers on both the sides were killed. ,Alā al-Dīn after a few days, stay returned to Khwārazm.

1 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 99, says that after a forty day's siege the governor of Herat was compelled to present costly offerings to the Sultan to avoid bloodshed, *Jahān Gushā* (pp.50-51) says that Ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Marghazi was the name of the governor of Herat. He being afraid of the Sultan's fury in case the city was taken by force, sued for peace,

2 *Jahān Gushā* (p. 51.) says that when the ultan heard of the Ghurid brothers' design to attack Khwārazm, he marched to Marw al-Rud raising the siege and en-camped on one of the banks of the river. Shihāb al-Dīn pursued him and arriving there encamped on the opposite bank. As the Sultan was not a match for Shihāb al-Dīn, he decamped and marched to Marw. The Ghurid army was in his wake. The Khwārazmshāh arriving at Sarakhs begged for peace, but as the Ghurid Sultan demanded of him a slice of Khurasan by way of compensation, the peace could not be arranged. 'Alā al-Dīn left for Khwārazm and Shihab al-Dīn taking advantage of the Sultan's absence, invaded Tus and worked havoc there, The inhabitants were compelled to yield their stores for the army.

As the winter had set in, Shihāb al-Dīn had no alternatives but to decamp and wait for another suitable opportunity to strike. He selected Tūs as his winter-quarters and marched thereto. But as he was short of stores, the inhabitants were compelled to yield a considerable portion of victuals for military purposes. People were already unfriendly towards the Ghurīds they took this vandalism as an insult added to an injury. There was a fear of rebellion, and it might have materalized, had not Shihāb al-Dīn left for Herat, owing to the death of his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 599/1202[1].

In 599/1203 the Khwārazmshāh despatched another army against Muḥammad b. Kharbeg but was once again defeated, and very few of his men could escape with their lives.

Again the Khwārazmshāh sent another contingent under the command of Manṣūr Turki to meet Muḥammad Kharbeg. The battle took place at a distance of ten leagues from the city, in which Muḥammad Kharbeg was defeated. He hastened back to Marw and shut himself in. The Sultan's commander gave him a hot chase and laid a siege which lasted for fifteen days. As he could expect no reinforcement from the Ghurīd court and was fast running short of rations and stores, he prayed for peace. Mānṣūr Turki refused to accede to his request. At last he was

1 It is said that Shihāb al-Dīn, leaving Muḥammad Kharbeg at Marw, himself proceeded to Herat. He soon invaded Abīward and after conquering it, ordered a general massacre. Therefrom he marched against Tāj al-Dīn Khalj, the ruler of Batraq and against the ruler of Maraghah who were so afraid of the great Ghurid general, that they sent their sons with precious presents and valuable offerings to appease him. Having accomplished it, he returned to Marw, On the way he heard of the approach of the Khwārazmian army who was advancing on Herat. A battle was fought, and though the number of Khwārazmians was much less than that of the Ghurid, the Ghurids lost the battle and Muḥammad Kharnak was killed. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 52.

captured and put to death. The death of this gallant soldier was a severe blow to the prestige of the Ghurid house who mourned his death officially for three days.[1] The victory of the Khwārazmian army became known far and wide and their reputation as gallant soldiers spread.

On the death[2] of Ghiyāth al-Dīn his younger brother Shihāb al-Dīn stepped into the shoes of his elder brother and assumed the title of Sultan. He reigned till he fell a vietim to the dagger of a treacherous murderer in 602/1206 while returning from a military expedition in India.

Alp Ghāzī was in those days the governor of Herat. When 'Alā al-Dīn invested the town and his catapults and battering rams began to shower stones on the city, the citizens compelled the governor to give up resistance and sue for peace. The envoy arrived at 'Alā al-Dīn's court to sign the peace. The Sultan was given to understand that Alp Ghāzī was authorised to make peace on behalf of Shihāb al-Dīn. Besides, an undertaking was given that the Ghurids would not advance on Khwārazm in future, provided the Sultan likewise abstained from making incursions into their land. Moreover, the governor agreed to pay a big sum to the Sultan by way of ransom. On the completion of the peace, Alp Ghāzī[3] went to see the Sultan to pay homage to him. When the governor started collecting the amount to be paid as ransom to the Sulan, the inhabitants refused to subscribe to the amount and raised a great hue and cry. The fact was reported to ths Sultan. He remitted the amount and raising the siege, decamped. Alp Ghāzī, coming to know of the Sultan's remission, once again went

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1 His position in the *Ghurid* court was analogous to that of Rustam in the Kyanian dynasty. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 52.:

2 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 54.

3 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 54. Ibn Khaldūn says that Al-Bughani was the governor of Herat in the absence of Shihāb al-Dīn who had gone to India. The siege lasted for four months. *Tārīkh*. Vol. V, p. 100.

to him in order to thank him but as Alp was seriously ill at that time, he died before he could arrive at the Sultan's court.[1]

Shihāb al-Dīn on his return from India, learnt of the Sultan's high-handedness, levying of fine, and the tragic death of Alp Ghāzi, He, in order to retaliate, marched on Khwārzam. Meanwhile information poured in that Taniko Taraz, a well-known commander of the Qarā-Khiṭā'ī forces, along with the ruler of Samarqand was marching on Khwārazm. 'Ālā al-Dīn learning of Shihāb al-Dīn's approach threatened to attack Herat again. As Shihāb al-Dīn had been very much annoyed with the Sultan, he retorted that the issue would be decided on the battle-fields of Khwārazm. 'Alā al-Dīn[2] hastened back to Khwārazm to make necessary preparations in order to face the situation. Besides, he made a request to the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs for a military alliance[3] against Shihāb al-Dīn, dubbing him as a common enemy of both the states. During this interval the Khwārazmians girt up their loins to offer the Ghurids a stiff resistance, and they rose like one man to defend their mother-land.

Shihāb al-Dīn with this huge army, which also comprised a large number of elephants, approached the city of Khwārazm and encamped on the southern bank of a big canal cut out of the Oxus. Although the number of the Sultan's forces exceeded seventy thousand men, yet they were a handful of people as compared to the extraordinary large number of the Ghurid army. The Sultan, in order to gain as much time as possible, ordered his men to

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1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 81; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarikh*, Vol. V. p. 100, Juwayni says that Alp Ghāzi died after a few days of the departure of the Sultan. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 54.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII. p, 86; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, Vol V. p. 100, Juwayni says that the Sultan on his way back to Khwārazm ransacked the city of Bādghīs. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 54.

3 He entered into a military alliance with the Sultan of Samarqand also *Jahān Gushā*, p. 59 ; *Rawdaṭ al-Safā'* Vol. IV, p. 144.

make a breach in the embankment of the Oxus and deflect the stream to the G͟hurid's camping ground. The whole vicinity was inundated and the G͟hurids had to face considerable trouble. After forty days interval, which the G͟hurids spent in disentangling themselves from that mess, a severe battle was fought, in which a large number of the soldiers on both the sides were killed. In the meantime. the news of the invasion of the Qarā-K͟hiṭā'īs on the G͟hurid territory was communicated to S͟hihāb al-Dīn. It forced him to give up this operation against K͟hwārazm. S͟hiāb al-Dīn, in order to avoid further clash with the Sultan's forces, planned departure in the pitch darkness of night. But the K͟hwārazmians were fully in touch with the enemy's programme and were awaiting an opportune moment to strike the last blow. S͟hihāb-al-Dīn ordered that all un-necessary military stores and belongings should be burnt.[1]

The G͟hurids, as planned, decamped at the dead of night and set out for their homes, to defend it against the Qarā-K͟hiṭā'īs who taking advantage of S͟hihāb al-Dīn's absence, were working havoc there. The Sultan's army was lying in ambush; they pounced upon them unawares and cut them into pieces. The G͟hurid's tried to take a stand in the vicinity of Hazār Asp,[2] but in vain. Many of them were killed and a large number were chased and driven to the forest where they died of hunger and thirst. S͟hihāb al Dīn could not be traced out at least for the present and the Sultan returned to K͟hwārazm with flying colours. A royal feast was given and commanders of the army were rewarded for meritovious services, rendered by them.

The remaining G͟hurid army, arriving at Andk͟hud,[3] stood face to face with an army of the Qarā-K͟hiṭā'īs. An engagement

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1 *Jahān Gus͟hā*, p. 55, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 145.

2 *Rawḍaṭ al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 145.

3 Out in the plain to the north-west of S͟hubarg͟han lies the town of Andk͟hud. It is a small town with seven villages around it. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 426.

took place which lasted for a week and resulted in a complete rout of the army of Shihāb al-Dīn. According to Juwayni there were fifty thousand soldiers under his command all of whom perished except one hundred men. The statement is not without exaggeration; for Shihāb al-Dīn, veterān soldier as he was, would never have followed, such a dangerous course and would have certainly devised some means to save his men from this disaster.

Shihāb al-Dīn under these hard circumstances was forced to take shelter in a fort situated in the vicinity of Andkhud. The Qarā-Khiṭā'is, who were in his wake, invested the fort and began to breach the walls. The ruler of Samarqand intervened and it was subsequently decided that the Ghurids could leave the fort on payment of ransom and that they would leave their bag and baggage for the invaders. Shihāb al-Dīn accepted the terms and left for Firuzkuh.

When 'Alā al-Dīn, heard of this unfortunate incident, he wrote to Shihāb al-Dīn, that since the Ghurids themselves were responsible for the disaster that they met at the hands of the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, he hoped that, they would in future abstain from invading the Khwārazmian country and avoid disturbing the peace of the land. As the Qarā-Khiṭā'is had dealt a severe blow to him, Shihāb al-Dīn required time to recover from the consequences of defeat. In order to save face he showed willingness to refrain from taking any undesirable step and promised to be considerate in future and stand by 'Alā al-Dīn through thick and thin.

After two months, there assembled another Ghurid army in the vicinity of Tāliqān, under Tāj al-Dīn Zangi, the ruler of Balkh. He invaded Marw al-Rud and murdered its ruler. As this expedition was undertaken without the consent of Shihāb al-Dīn, he did not approve of it. The Khwārazmshāh instructed Badr al-Dīn Jaghar of Marw and Tāj al-Dīn 'Ali of Abiward to deal with Zangi. They marched on him, captured him and killed him.

In the year 602/1206, the governor of Balkh 'Imād al-Dīn

'Umar who had succeeded Zangi made an attack on the fortress of Tirmidh[1] which belonged to the Qarā-Khitā'is. The fort was captured and 'Imād al-Din's son Bahrāmshāh was appointed its governor.

Although Shihāb al-Din was outwardly abiding by the promise made to 'Alā al-Din, yet as he had lost much of his prestige, he was making feverish preparations to regain it. Keeping this object in view, he marched on India to equip himself with requisites for a decisive battle against 'Alā al-Dīn. Shihāb al-Dīn was encamping at Jhelum, on his way back home, when two men entered his royal pavilion at noon and killed him. This happened in Ramaḍan 602/April, 1206.[2]

At the death[3] of Shihāb al-Din his nephew Ghiyāth al-Din Maḥmūd was at Bust. Hearning of his uncle's death, he declared himself his successor and brought the whole of the Ghurid king-

1 Tirmidh was the most important town of Sagharian district to the north of the passage of the Oxus while coming from Balkh at the junction of Zamil river. It had a strong fort, which served as residence of governor, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 439.

2 Ibn Khaldūn *Tārikh*. Vol. V, p. 102, *Rawdat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 145; *Jahān Gushā*, p. 68.

3 Juwayni says that Sultan Maḥmūd, ascended the throne on his uncle's death and took to luxuries. His nobles disapproving of his pursuits, began to desert him 'Izz al-Dīn Kharmil, the governor of Herat, was the first man who linked himself with the Sultan and invited him to capture Herat. As the Sultan, at that time had his hands full with the Qarā-Khitā'is, he instructed the army of Khurasan to proceed to Herat and capture it. They were cordially received by the governor. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 62.

It is also stated by the same authority that some of the nobles who supported the cause of Sultan Maḥmūd had a few scirmishes with the Khwārazmian troops; but were defeated. The Khwārazmshāh was, thereupon requested to pay a visit to Herat. *Ibid.* p. 63.

On the authority of *Jamī' al-Tawārikh* and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, we understand that Sultan Maḥmūd succeeded in taking possession of Herat and Firuzkuh

(*Continued on page 51*)

dom except Herat under him. Ibn-i-Kharmil was governor of Herat when Shihāb al-Din died. For him the hour to strike had come. He asked his courtiers to take oath of allegience to him against all invaders pretending that the Khwārazmian attack was expected any moment. They promised to render him all help against all the invaders, except Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd the rightful successor of Shihāb al-Dīn. But as he was hatching a plot against Ghiyāth al-Din Maḥmūd and, wanted to throw off the yoke of his overlordship, he did not like the idea and began to brood over ill designs. In the meanwhile, he received a letter from Ghiyāth al-Din Maḥmūd to take oath of allegiance and declare him publicly as his sovereign. He refused to comply with it, and secretly entered into communications with the Khwarāzmian ruler and reqested him to send an army to take possession of Herat. As the Sultan could not trust his fickle-mindedness, he refused to comply with his request; until Ibn-i-Kharmil dispatched his own son to the Sultan's court to be kept there as hostage against treachery. Ibn Kharmil, soon after, was compelled by a certain noble to take oath of fealty to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd and read *khuṭbah* in his name. The Sultan's army was approaching Herat and Ibn-i-Kharmil was on the horns of a dilemmma. 'Alā al-Din in those days was busy with the siege of Balkh

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(*Continued from page* 50)

but quite imprudently took to luxuries. The Sultan fearing lest the Qarā-Khiṭā'is should take advantage of the weakness of Sultan Maḥmūd, made up his mind to incorporate whatever remained of the Ghurid kingdom in that of his own. He, therefore, ordered his army at Shadyakh to march on Herat and conquer it. *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol, IV, p. 145.

4 Bust is the name of a place situated between Ghaznin and Herat. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. II, p. 170. Bust or Bast on the Helmand has always been an important place. It was the second biggest city in the district of Sijistan. Its neighbouring land was extremely fertile. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 344-45.

Lanepool states that Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn Maḥmūd succeded his uncle in 599/602-03 which appears to be wrong. *Tabaqāt-i-Salāṭīni Islām* p. 265.

but had suffered a reverse. When the fickle governor of Herat learnt of it, he being under the impression that the Sultan had lost much of his sting, secretely approached the Sultan's commander and requested him to leave for Shadyakh. Ibn al-Kharmil impressed upon him that as the Sultan had a rapproachment with Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd and the dispute had been amicably settled, their presence was no longer desired. The commander who was not aware of his real motives, complied with his request and departed.[1]

When Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd came to know of the departure of the Sultan's army of occupation from Herat, he dismissed Ḥusayn b. Kharmil for his double-dealings and confiscated his property. As the citizens were also against the treacherous governor, they in order to get rid of him, conspired to arrest him and communicated their intention to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Ḥusayn, shrewd as he was, smelt a rat and to avoid crisis took an oath of allegiance to Maḥmūd and promised to remain loyal. The citizens despatched a messenger to Ghiyāth al-Din communicating the circumstances, and requested him to accept the apology of 'Izz al-Din and retain him in his office. Ḥusayn succeeded, once again in playing the fox with them. He took the messenger in confidence and instructed him to go to Nishapur instead of Firuzkuh, and request the Khwārazmian army on his behalf to return at

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 104-5.

2 When the Sultan on his way to Herat, arrived at Balkh, 'Imād al-Din, the governor of the place, cordially welcomed him. But, after a few days, Sultan's men intercepted a letter of 'Imād al-Din addressed to the chiefs of Bāmiyān in which had mentioned the Sultan's name in a most objectionable way. Although he deserved severe punishment, the Sultan pardoned him and after confiscating his property sent him to Khwārazm. On the arrival of the Sultan at Herat, the city was decorated in his honour and 'Alā al-Dīn entered it with great pomp and show in the month of *Jamādī al-Ukhrā*. Ghiyāth al-Dīn was presented to the Sultan through a learned man of Kirman and was given the government of Herat and Firuzkuh. 'Izz al-Dīn was appointed the superintendent of the whole Ghurid kingdom, *Jahān Gushā* pp. 64-65; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, f. 1016, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, pp. 145-46.

once to occupy Herat. The messenger set out and after traversing a few miles on the road leading to Firuzkuh, turned towards Nishapur.

After covering a few stages, he overtook the Sultan's army and delivered the governor's message to the commander of the army. They returned and reaching Herat occupied it and banished the undesirable elements from the city. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd tried his best to retake the city but he could not.[1]

The Sultan on this occasion deputed his brother Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh to conquer Balkh, but, the governor 'Imād al-Ḍīn 'Umar b. Ḥusayn al-Ghūrī managed the affair so successfully that the Sultan's forces dared not approach the place.

'Alā al-Dīn marched on Balkh in *Dhu al-Qadah*, 602/May 1206 and invested it. The siege lasted for forty days and the Sultan failed to make any headway. 'Alā al-Ḍīn at the same time had been trying on diplomatic level to bring 'Imād al-Dīn round, but this without any tangible result. The Sultan, at last, feeling tired raised the siege and left for Herat, giving instructions to Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Bashīr to carry on negotiations with 'Imād al-Din and presuade him to surrender the town. The attempt after protracted negotiations came to a fruitful end and the Sultan's deputy got possession of the town on the 27th *Rabī' al-Awwal* 603/1207. Having freed himself of this engagement, the Sultan demanded the city of Kurzuban[2] as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (his father) had promised to hand it over as ransom a long time back. The Sultan again deputed Muḥammad b. 'Alī to induce Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd to yield. Muḥammad's diplomacy succeeded once again and the city was surrendered.

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 106-7.

2 Kurzuban is a town in the district of Taliqan, situated in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Ghur. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. VII, p. 237.

Although 'Imād al-Dīn had made over the city of Balkh to the deputy of the Sultan, yet as he, during the siege of Balkh had behaved in an objectionable way, the Sultan was feeling offended. 'Imād al-Dīn was summoned and put under arrest. Jankar al-Turki was appointed as governor of the place.[1]

Fall of Tirmidh

Tirmidh was governed by the son of 'Imād al-Dīn, the late governor of Balkh. The Sultan, after reducing Balkh marched on Tirmidh. Arriving there, he sent a messenger to the governor, advising him to follow the foot-steps of his father. Since the governor on one side, was threatened by the Khwārazmian army and on the other side by the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, he had no alternative but to yield. The Sultan after occupying the place, quite unexpectedly, made it over to the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs. This action of the Sultan was highly disapproved by the Muslims and he was severely criticised for passing it over to the infidels.[2]

This step, though outwardly quite objectionable, was taken by the Sultan to camouflage his intentions. The Qarā-Khiṭā'īs were most undesirable neighbours and 'Alā al-Dīn have had long ago made up his mind to put an end to their nuisance ; and this could not be accompalished as long as they suspected his intentions. Handing over Tirmidh to the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, though for some time deprived him of a good strategic point, and made him unpopular with his co-religionists, yet he succeeded in carrying out his design. But alas this very step was the cause of his own downfall also, as we shall narrate it later on.

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 106-07 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*. Vol. V, pp. 101-102. Juwayni says that Badr al-Dīn Jaghri was appointed ruler of Balkh. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 72.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp 107-108 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*. Vol, V, p. 120.

Fall of Tāliqān

This place was being governed by Ṣanaj, on behalf of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd. When the Sultan asked him to surrender, he flatly refused to comply with his command. The Ṣultan marched to Tāliqān. The battle started and Sanjar fought so bravely, that the Sultan looked at him with an eye of admiration. Breaking the rank and file of the Sultan's army, he at last stood face to face with the Khwārazmshāh. The Sultan was alert to defend himself against any prospective assault. But he was utterly surprised when the governor of Tāliqān throwing away the sword, rolled on the ground, and entreated the Sultan's pardon in a most abject way. The Sultan at first took him to be dead-drunk but later on, when he understood his motives, he highly disapproved of his action and raproached him for the bloodshed that he had caused unnecessarily. The Sultan dismissed him and confiscated his property.[1]

Fall af Kalwin[2] and Biwar[3]

These two forts situated at a distance of ten miles, from each other, were under the command of 'Alī b. 'Alī who ruled there on behalf of Ghīyāth al-Dīn Mahmūd. When the Sultan's messenger waited npon him asking him to surrender the above-mentioned forts to him, he replied, that the question of making over of the forts rests with Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, on whose behalf he was governing the places. It would be more reasonable and convenient for the Ṣultan to enter into communication with thr right

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 114.

2 This fort is named Kalwa'in also. It is situated between Bādghīs and Herat. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. VII, p. 209.

3 Bīwar is a place in Gharjistan, *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 346. It is said that Kalyun and Fiwar were the names of two fortresses in Ghurjistan, which were destroyed by Ghingīz Khān in the 7th Century *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 417.

man. The reply was appreciated by the Sultan who left him unmolested.[1]

Fall of Asfara

'Alā al-Dīn marched to Herat in order to have a brief respite. Ḥusayn-i-Kharmil who, on behalf of the Sultan, was the governor of Herat gave him a splendid reception. He, to impressed the Sultan with his sincerity of purpose and sense of duty. sought permiss ion to march on Asfara to conquer it. 'Alā al-Dīn allowed him to proceed on this expedition, with a detachment of the Khwārazmian army. Ibn-i-Kharmil arriving there invested the town and tried to induce the inhabitants to surrender otherwise the town would be taken at the point of sword and the inhabitants put to death. The people agreed and the city was captured in 603/1207.[3]

Fall of Sijistan

Sijistan was an independent principality, under the rule of one known as Ḥarb b. Muḥammad. As the ruler was not in a position to oppose the Sulṭan, on an invitation from Ibn i-Kharmil, he yielded and made over the country to him.[4]

Fall of Mazandran and Kirman

Abu Bakr Tāj al-Dīn, an adventurous noble at the Sultan's

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1 Ibn al-Athīr. Vol. XII, p 115, Ibn Khaldūn, says that he fought a battle against 'Alā al-Dīn and lost it. *Tārīkh*, Vol. V. p. 103.

2 It is the name of a place in the neighbourhood of Herat, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. I, p. 229. It is also written as Isfarayin. It was a populous town having a good market. To the north of the town was a fort called Gold Castle, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 393

3 Ibn Khaldūn says that it happened in the month of Safar. *Tārīkh*. Vol, V, p. 103.

4 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 115.

court, one day asked his permission to conquer Kirman and its dependencies. This man was the ruler of Ẓawzan[1] and had a troop of picked soldiers under his command. He marched on Kirman and Ḥarb b. Muḥammad the ex-rular of Sijistan. feeling himself again helpless surrendered. Thence he proceeded to Makran where he also met with an unqualified success. He moved stilll further and conquered the whole country lying upto the limits of Sindh and Kabul. The ruler[2] of Harmuz, a place situated on the shore of Makran. also submitted. Similarly some of the dependencies of Qalahat and Amman were also subdued.

Fall of Mawara al-Nahr

The death of the Ghurid Sultans had tolled the death knell of the Ghurid dynasty, Ghiyāth al- Dīn Maḥmūd was a weak and imbecile successor of the illustrious House of Firuzkuh who was stripped off of his possessions one by one and reduced to the precarious position, of a second fiddle. The Khwārazmshāh simply to avoid a clash with the Qarā-Khiṭā'is, was still amicably pulling on with them as their vassal. Although, since long he was cherishing an ill-design against the infidels of Qarā-Khiṭā'is to whom his father Takish owned his throne, yet as he wanted to free himself, first of all. from his engagement with the Ghurid dynasty, he avoided a rupture with them. And. it was in view of this very fact, that the fort of Tirmidh after its fall, was handed over to these infidels. At this stage Sultan having achieved his aim, and being the biggest monarch among the contemporary Muslim, rulers thought it disgraceful to remain any longer as a dependent of Qarā-Khiṭā'is and impatiently waited for an excuse to fall out

1 It has been styled as Zuzan, a city between Herat and Nishapur, known for the large number of learned men born there. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. IV, p. 416. Around it lay 124 important villages. *Lands of the Easterd Caliphate* p. 385.

2 Ibn al-Athīr Vol. XII. p. 139 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*, Vol. V, pp. 107-8 His name was Qiwām al-Dīn, Mua'yyid al-Mulk.

with them.[1]

The[2] Muslims of Transoxiana, especially of Bukhara, were fed up with their unsympathetic ruler the Qarā-Khiṭā'is who being unbelievers had nothing in common with them. They rather oppressed the Muslims and practised all sorts of atrocities on them. Similarly the ruler of Bukhara, though in name a Muslim was an inconsiderate and mean person who instead of being helpful to his co-religionists always oppressed them in order to please his masters. The ruler of Samarqand, Sultan Uthmān Khān, was also in communication with the Sultan and was instigating him against the infidels of Qarā-Khiṭā. Moreover, deputations from Bukhara and Samarqand also waited upon the Sultan and prayed for his help. Besides the Sultan himself wanted to have an excuse to fall out with the infidels. As already stated it was Sultan Takish who when fighting againse his brother Sultan Shāh, had approached the ruler of Qarā-Khiṭā for military and on the promise to pay annual tribute. 'Alā al-Dīn was at the zenith of power at this time, and he considered it extremely derogatory to pay tribute to a power far inferior to that of his. Besides the treatment meted out to the Sultan, by the rude and unpolished envoys of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is was more painful and annoying than the actual payment of tribute. Every year an envoy visited the Sultan's court to receive payment. The envoy was authorised to sit on the throne, by the side of the Sultan, who sometimes, being puffed up with this momentary elevation, behaved in the most objectionable way. At this particular occassion an ambassador named Tushi[3] was deputed by the Khān to receive the tribute. He addressed the Sultan so impolitely in the presence of his courtiers and nobles, that

1 *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* (p. 495) says that the Sultan to decide the issue had to fight thrice. On the first occasion he was victorious, on the second he was captured and it was on the third occasion that he achieved his objective.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 121 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 103.

3 His name was Tunghi. *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, f. 1017.

heflew into a rage and ordered his execution then and there. Diplomitic[1] relations were severed and both the parties started preparations for a war. The expedition of Khurasan had just ended and the Sultan, to safeguard against internal disturbances, made the following appointments:-

'Alishāh, the Sultan's younger brother was appointed governor of Ṭabristān and Jurjān. Kazlak was deputed at Nishapur. Amīr Jaldak of Madinat al-Khān, Amīn al-Din Abū Bakr of Zawzan and Ḥusayn-i-Kharmil all the three were sent to Herat. Similarly Marw and Sarakhs were placed under experienced chiefs to maintain peace and order.[2]

The Sultan marched on Bukhara; and as the inhabitants were in league with the invaders, they agitated against their unworthy ruler and the city fell in no time. The Sultan, next left for Samarqand to discuss the matter with Uthmān Khān. He was the only Muslim governor, who in those days was working under the overlordship of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is. and accordingly was looked down upon by the Muslims. His title was Sultan-i-Salātīn and he was the governor of Māwarā' al-Nahr and Samarqand. He happily at that time was also disaffected with the Gur Khān, the ruler of Qarā-Khiṭā; as the Gur Khān had refused to accede to Uthmān's request when the latter had prayed for the hand of the former's daughter in marriage for himself. Uthmān had taken it, as an insult and had entered into communications with the Sultan to retaliate against the Gur Khān.

When the news of his unexpected collaboration reached the Gur Khān, he after appointing Taniku,[3] as commander-in-chief

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 75, *Rowḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 147.

2 Ibn al-Aththīr, Vol. XII. *p*. 121 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*, Vol. V, p. 104 and Ibn al-Fida Tarikh, Vol. III, p. 110.

3 He was more than one hundred year old. Ibn al-athīr, Vol. XII. p. 124; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 105.

of his forces, despatched him to meet the Sultan. The forces came face to face with each other in *Rabi' al-Awwal* 607/August, 1210. The Sultan ordered that all the preachers should ascend the neighbouring heights and recite at the top of their voice the following prayer:- اللّٰهم انصر جیوش المسلمین و سرا یا هم and the army should attack the enemy with one accord. The Sultan's soldiers pounced upon them like furious tigers and put most of them to the sword. Taniku was taken captive and sent to Khwārazm.[1]

On this occassion, the nobles and the courtiers presented the title of *Sikandar-i-Thāni* to the Ṣultan, He suggested that as the rule of Sanjar lasted for a longer period than that of Alexandar therefore, the title of *Sanjar-i-Thāni* was more suitable. The suggestion was widely appreciated and henceforth the Sultan was called *Sanjar-i-Thāni.*

On this unprecedented victory when the joy of the Sultan and his loyal subjects knew no bounds, people were struck with wonder to hear, that a holy and learned Sayyid named Murtaḍā b. Ṣadr al-Dīn of Shadyakh was weeping and bewailing the rout of Qarā-Khiṭā. On enquiry he accused the people and the Sultan of their gross short-saightedness, and deprecated their unwise operation against this Christian buffer state which served as a wall of Alexander between them and savage Tartars who were waiting for a suitable opportunity to march on this Islamic land and shake it to its very foundations. The time was not far off when those brutes would invade the Empire and destory every thing that they could lay their hands on.[2] Hardly a few years had elapsed when the Sultan and the people realized their mistake and the prophecy of the holy Sayyid proved true.

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 78 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 147 ; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, f. 172.

2 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 80 ; *Jami' al-Tawārīkh*, f. 1018.

As Uthmān[1] Khān, the ruler of Samarqand had played a very important and effective prale in the defeat of Qarā-Khiṭā, the Sultan married his daughter Khān Sultān,[1] to him as a token of recognition of his sincere and loyal services, and detained him at his court for full two years. Though this practice in those days was regarded as a mark of great honour, Uthmān did not appreciate it and wanted to get rid of this detention as soon as possible.

His two year's compulsory stay at Khwārazm, offered him an opportunity to carefully study the Khwārazmian chiefs. He was a keen observer and got soon disgusted with them and repented of his haste. Reaching Samarqand, he entered into communications with the Gur Khān. The Gur Khān, in ordere to restore old relations married his daughter to Uthmān Khān. He feeling overjubilant on the fulfilment of his old desire, severed his connections with the court of Khwārazm and killed the Khwārazmian garrison stationed at Samarqand to a man and hung their bodies in the public places. Similarly he treated Khān Sultan most disgracefully in the presence of his new bride, and he went as far as to abuse Sultān in her face. She informed her father of the new turn that Uthmān Khan had taken and strongly protested against the ill-treatment meted out to her. The Sultan summoned Uthmān's brother Otigin to warn Uthmān Khān. At the same time he made up his mind to march on Samarqand, conquer it and kill all the inhabitants. The Sultan's mother intervened and held him back from carrying out his ugly resolve. Anyhow, the city was taken and given to general slaughter. It lasted for three days and resulted in the death of two lakh of people.[2] Uthmān Khān was taken a captive and produced before the Sultan. Although the Sultan wanted to forgive him yet Khān Sultan insisted on his death for his misbehaviour and disrespectful treatment. The Sultan in order to satisfy his daughter put him to death. This happened in 609/1213.

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1 Juwayni says that ten thousand people were killed which appears more reasonable,

2 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 125 ; Ibn Khadlūn, Vol. V, p. 106.

Death of Ḥusayn b. Kharmil

The Khwārazmian army was notorious for its irregularities and indiscipline. The garrison stationed at Herat, defied law and order and started looting the city openly. Ibn-i-Kharmil could not tolerate this hooliganism. He ordered their arrest and informed the Sultan thereof. Though the Sultan outwardly commended the disciplinary action taken against his unruly soldiers, yet taking it as a personal insult, he seriously resented the governor's bold action, and decided to punish him. He wrote to Ibn-i-Kharmil to despatch the grrison of Herat to Khwārazm and instructed 'Izz al-Din Jaldak b. Ṭughril to proceed to Herat with two thousand men and put Ibn-i-Kharmil under arrest. At the same time the Sultan wrote to Ḥusayn that as Jaldak b. Tughril was an experienced and tried soldier he had been ordered to stay at Herat as an advisor and counsellor to him.

When Jaldak approached Herat, Ibn-i-Kharmil went out of the city to receive the Sultan's representative, with pomp and show. Ḥusayn's minister, who was an intelligent and shrewd man forbade him from receiving Jaldak for he suspected a foul play. Ḥusayn, who never thought that his sincerity and fidelity would be rewarded in such a queer way, did not listen to the wise counsel of his sagacious minister. On the other side Jaldak had issued necessary instructions to his soldiers and was quite ready to do the job assigned to him.[1]

When, both the generals come face to face they dismounted from their horses, and embraced each other. Jaldak's soldiers fell on Ḥusayn and put him under arrest. Ḥusayn's soldiers ran back to the city and informed the minister of all that had happened to the poor governor. He atonce declared a state of siege in Herat and sent message to the Khwārazmians that as the city originally belonged to the Ghurids it would not be delivered but to its rightful owner. Jaldak, in reply threatened him with

1 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 106.

the murder of Ibn-i-Kharmil, in case the city was not surrendered. He brought Ḥusayn under the city-wall and shouted out to the minister. When he appeared on the top of the parapet he was informed of the invaders intentions. Though, Ibn-i-Kharmil also tried his level best to move the stone-hearted minister to open the gates of Herat as Ḥusayn's life was at stake, yet the minister remained absolutely adamant to all his supplications and prayers. Ḥusayn was consequently put to the sword. When the news of the siege reached the Sultan, he ordered Kazlak Khan and Amīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr to reinforce Jaldak. They reached there with ten thousand soldiers but could do nothing. They tried hard to persuade the minister to surrender but failed. After much persuasion he agreed to pass on Herat to the Sultan in person. The real cause of the stubbornness of the minister was that, Ibn-i-Kharmil in order to make the city as invulnerable as possible, had constructed four parapets and dug a moat around Herat. Besides. the minister was fully aware that the Khwārazmians at that time were not strong enough to conquer the city. The siege however, became irksome and the investers were feeling helpless. In the mean- while somebody informed the besiegers that Ibn-i-Kharmil, after the construction of the parapets, had remarked, that there was still one weak point against which Herat could not be defended viz. if ever an invader dammed up water of the stream that passed through the city, and diverted it to rush against the city-walls, there was a possibility of a breach. The Khwārazmians, who were tired of their helplessness dammed up the water and made it rush against the walls. Although, the vicinity of Herat was flooded, it could do no harm to the parapets. On the contrary, the besiegers were compelled to withdraw to some distance from Herat and wait till the marsh dried up.[1]

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1 Ibn Athir, Vol XII, p. 121; Juwayni's account of Ibn-i-Kharmil's death is as below :- "Before the Sultan's return to Khwārazm a rumour had spread abroad, that he had been taken prisoner by the Qarā-*Khiṭā'īs*. Ibn-i-Kharmil became disaffected and conspired with the Ghurid ruler. He coined money

(*Continued on page 64*)

As already stated, the Sultan was engaged in an expedition against the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, who to avenge their defeat, had invested Samarqand under the command of the Gur Khān. Kajlak, a chief of Turkistan, who was not on good terms with the Gur Khān entered into negotiations with the Sultan regarding his own position after the victory in case he stood by him. It was decided that in case Kajlak succeeded against the Gur Khān without the Sultan's help, the country upto the river of Banakat would go to him; and if the Sultan defeated the Gur Khān single-handed, the provinces of Kashghar and Khutan would go to the Sultan. It was an irony of fate that Kajlak at one time, defeated the Gur Khān and on other occasion was defeated by him, and thus the issue could not be decided in his favour or otherwise. Similarly the Sultan's rank and file was not free from traitors and deserters. Ispahbad and Tartiah, the superintendent of police at Samarqand were likewise dissatisfied wit the Khwārazmshāh. They communicated to the Gur Khān, that they were ready to desert 'Alā al-Dīn on the day of battle provided he agreed to cede the province of Khwārazm to Tartiah and that of Khurasan to Ispahbad. The point was agreed upon, and a severe battle was fought which ended in the capture of the Sultan owing to the desertion of Ispahbad and Tartiah. The leaderless Khwārazimian army reached Khwārzam and were absolutely in the dark regarding the whereabouts of the Sultan. When this sad new reached Kajlak, he despite Amīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr, raised siege of Herat and left for Nishapur. The minister, there-

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(*Continued from page* 179)

in Ghiyāth al-Dīn's name and apologised for the past. But as the Ghurid Sultan was highly displeased with his past conduct, he refused to listen to him and resolved to oust him from Herat. Ghiyāth, accordingly advanced against him. In the meantime the Sultan returned, and Ibn-i-Kharmil fearing the consequences of his treachery requested the Sultan's nobles, stationed in the eastern Khurasan for military aid. They came to his assistance and routed the forces of Ghur. The Khwārazmian nobles thereupon wrote to Sultan Muḥammad, that Herat was like a forest and Ibn-i-Kharmtl like a lion. It is high time to get rid of this unreliable man. The Sultan agreed to the proposal and Ibn-i-Kharmil was killed. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 82.

by, applied himself to the repairs of the fortifications so that he could take possession of the whole of Khurasan, in case of the Sultan's death. Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh also acted in the same manner. He declared himself successor of the Sultan and discontinued *khuṭbah* in his name. In short, peace and order was completely shattered in Khurasan and anarchy reigned everywheлe.

Usually the Sultan on such occasions disguised himself in the costume of the enemy. On this particular day centres of both the armies were jumbled together and the Sultan got mixed up with enemy's troops and could not disengage himself. He was taken a captive but could not be recognised, and remained in the camp of the enemy for a few days. Finding an opportunity, he ran out and reached the river of Banakat and therefrom arrived at Khwārazm.[1]

The Khwārazmshāh's unexpected return to Khwārazm, was a shock both for Kajlak and 'Alīshāh who had renounced allegiance to the Sultan. Kajlak ran away to Iraq and 'Alishāh went over to Ghiyath al-Dīn Maḥmūd at Quhistan.

The Sultan after a few days rest marched on Herat and asked the besieged minister to surrender the city as he had promised. The minister refused to comply with the Sultan's demand, saying that as the Sultan was a most unreliable ruler he could not be trusted. The inhabitants, on the other hand were completely fed up with this unfortunate state of affairs, and there was an acute scarcity of eatables due, to the thirteen months siege. They conspired to rise against the minister and open the gates. But he, to suppress the agitation, put the whole turbulent element under arrest and terrorised the people This unwise action, brought the matter to a head, and there was a general rising in the city. When the news of the internal disturbances reached the Sultan, he ordered a raid, as a result of which, two of the city's bastions fell

1 *Jahān Ghushā*, Vol. II, p. 83 ; *Rawḍat al-Safā*, Vol. IV, p. 147.

and the city was captured. The haughty minister was caught and put to death.[1]

'Alā al-Dīn appointed his maternal uncle, Amīr Malik as governor of Herat and ordered him to catch hold of both, Ghiyath-al-Dīn and 'Alishāh. They surrendered on the promise of safety. Amīr Malik sent them to the Sultan who ordered their execution and incorporated the principality of Ghiyāth al-Dīn in his own empire.[2]

Fall of Firuzkuh and Ghaznin

The Sultan deputed Amīr Malik, with a troop of tried soldiers to reduce Firuzkuh and punish Amīr Muḥammad for his giving shelter to the ungrateful 'Alishāh. Amīr Muḥammad was

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 124; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 105; Abū al-Fidā, Vol. III, p. 91.

2 Juwayni gives its account as follows:

Since the death of Shihāb al-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Din Maḥmūd was acting as a faithful vassal of the Sultan. After the fall of Herat, the government of Firuzkuh was also bestowed upon him. On the re-appearance of the Sultan. 'Alīshāh, who during his absence had acted treacherously left his seat of government and came to Ghiyāth al-Dīn to seek his intercession for the forgiveness of his crime. Ghiyāth al-Dīn received him cordially, and prayed to the Sultan to pardon him. 'Alīshāh after a few days, entered Ghiyāth al-Dīn's palace surreptitiously and murdered his royal host. As poor Ghiyāth al-Dīn, had no heir to succeed him, 'Alīshāh being the Sultan's brother was installed in his place and the matter was referred to the royal court for approval. The Sultan ordered a delegate to proceed to Firuzkuh, with a robe-of-honour and a royal mandate to confer the rule of the place on 'Alīshāh. When the ceremony was publicly celebrated and the royal mandate was read out to the people of Firuzkuh, the delegate, in order to make 'Alīshāh put on the robe of-honour, took him to a side room and while 'Alīshāh was busy with putting off his clothes, the delegate took courage in both hands and put him to death. As 'Alīshāh was highly unpopular with the people of Firuzkuh, nobody cared for him and the province was incorporated in the empire of Khwārazm. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 85.

(*Continued on page 67*)

defeated and put to death in 607/1211.[1]

After the complete conquest of Khurasan and Bāmiyān in 612 or 613/1216, the Sultan induced Tāj al-Dīn Yalduz to surrender the city of Ghaznīn, where he was ruling as an independent ruler. He, after consultation with his nobles and chiefs, thinking resistance useless presented an elephant to the Sultan as a token of his submission and read *khuṭbah* in his name. One day, Tāj al-Dīn, as usual, went a hunting and left Qatlagh Tigin who from among the salves of Shihāb al-Dīn was his co-worker, as his successor to officiate for him. He, in his absence invited the Sultan to occupy the city. The Sultan marched on Ghaznin, occupied the town and shattered the whole army of Tāj al-Dīn. He (Tāj al-Dīn) having heard of Qatlagh's treachery left for Lahore.[1]

'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad, summoned Qatlagh one day and enquired about his relations with Tāj al-Dīn. He said that they were quite friendly and virtually, he had been the ruler, as Tāj al-Dīn stayed only for four months in a year and passed the remaining time in picnics and recreation. Sultan remarked "A man who could not abide by a friend, comrade and a benefactor, how he could be relied upon. "He ordered him to be put to death and

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Ibn Khaldūn also says that when 'Alīshāh murdered his host and the matter was brought to the notice of the Sultan, he accused 'Alīshāh of treachery and asked him to pay four thousand slaves and thirty thousand bundles of costly cloth by way of indemnity. *Tārīkh*, Vol V, p. 108.

1 This date appears to be more probable than the one given by Juwayni.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol XII, p.142 : Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p 1C8 ; *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 495.

Juwayni says: The death of Tāj al-Dīn Yaldūz took place in 611/1215 and as he had no son, a slave of his proclaimed himself as his successor. When the Sultan heard of it, he deputed a commandar to take its possession. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 35.

appointed Jalāl al-Dīn as governor of the place.[1]

When the Sultan got possession of the treasurers of Ghaznin, he came across a letter of the Caliph al-Nāṣir Billāh addressed to Ghurid brothers, inciting them to hostility against Sultan Muḥammad and asking them to wage a war against him. This was, for the first time that he could fully grasp the reason for the incessant campaigns that had been carried out by the Ghurid court against him.

Fall of the mountainous country

Sultan Takish had incorporated Raha[2] Hamadan and remaining districts of Khurasan in the Khwārazmian empire before his death; but owing to 'Alā al-Dīn's pre-occupations with the Sultan of Ghur, the sons of Pahlwān had succeeded in re-conquering them one by one. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad Uzbak b. Jahān Pahlwān (1210-1225) was declared their chief. Just after a few years they with one accord turned against him and re-introduced *khuṭbah* in the name of 'Alā al-Dīn. By chance, Aghlamash, who on behalf of the Sultan, was ruler of the mountainous countries, was murdered by the *fidā'is* of Alamut and Uzbak once again wanted to try his luck and re-conquer Adharbaijan, Arran, Isfahan, Rayy, Hamadan and so on. The same idea had also struck the mind of Sa'd b. Zangi the Atābak of Shiraz. Uzbak succeeded in the conquest of Isfahan, while Atabak annexed Rayy, Qazwin, and Samnān to his territory.

The Sultan was en-camping at Samarqand, when he got the news of this untoward happening. He, with one lac of soldiers marched to the scene of disturbance and arriving at Qawmis, selected twelve thousand veteran soldiers to accompany him to accomplish the task. Reaching Rayy, the Sultan's forces and the Atābak's

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 142-143 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 108

2 He had gone out to receive the pilgrims coming back from Makkah. All of a sudden, a few *fidā'is* pounced upon him and killed him. *Al-Sīrat Li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 12,

came face to face. The *Atābak* took the opposing army as that of the Uzbak advancing to conquer Rayy. The battle started and Sa'ad fought so heroically that the scales of battle turned, almost in his favour. The Sultan, at this juncture ordered that the royal umbrella should be spread over his head. When it met the Atābak's eyes, he becoming disillusioned was utterly nonplussed. Ultimately he was taken captive and when brought before the Sultan, his offence was forgiven. His son, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr, hearing of his father's submission, took the little of Atābak and proclaimed himself an independent ruler. The Sultan could foresee the brewing trouble, and ordered the release of Sa'd, after taking an oath of allegiance, Nuṣrat al-Dīn decided to oppose his father and closed the gates of Shiraz on him. Ḥusām al-Dīn Takishbash, a loyal servant of Sa'd opened the gates of the palace and admitted him inside. Atābak arrested his son and threw him in to prison.[1]

Uzbak was at Isfahan, when he heard of Sa'd's rout. Being afraid of the Sultan's wrath, he set out for Hamadan, and was told there that the Sultan was on, the look-out to attack him. He had no alternative, but to depute his minister Rabīb al-Dīn to approach the Sultan and beg forgiveness on his behalf. Uzbak, himself, with two hundred soldiers left for Adharbaijan. The main army and his treasures were with Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bishkin. He was suddenly attacked, at night, by Amīr Dukjak, deprived of all the treasures while most of his nobles and chiefs were taken captives. Rabīb al-Dīn, who was on his way to Sultan Muḥammad, was also captured and no credence was given to his statement, that he was deputed to play the role of a peace-maker. In the meantime Nāṣir al-Dīn Dawlat Yār who was sent by the Sultan to Uzbak to induce him ro submit, returned after successfully conducting negotiations. Uzbak promised to introduce the Sultan's name in *khuṭbah* throughout his dominions, and, also transferred the control of the fort of Qazwin to the Sultan. 'Alā

1 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 108; *Al-Sīrat li-Jalal al-Dīn*, p. 20.

al-Din wanted to impose on him a certain sum as annual tribute, but he pleaded his inability to pay on the ground that his country had been wasted on account of the invasions by the Gurjis. The Gurjis, consequently, were informed of the terms of the peace and warned against any further attacks on the territory.[1]

This expedition ended in the fall of the whole mountainous country to the Sultan for instance Shadrah, Qazwin, Jurjan, Abhar, Hamadan, Isfahan, Qum, Kushan, etc..

Destruction of Shash, Farghanah, Asman and Kashan

When the news of the rout of Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, at the hands of Sultan Muḥammad, reached Kushlī Khān, the ruler of Chinese Turkistan, he in order to complete their destruction requested the Sultan to render him suitable help. The Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, being unable to oppose Kushlī Khān, single-handed and being in the dark about the agreement arrived at between the Sultan and Kushlī also made a request to 'Alā al-Dīn and in return promised payment of a huge sum as annual tribute. The Sultan, as he was not sure of the success of either of the parties secretly promised to help both and reaching the vicinity of the battle-field, encamped there to await his chance. The battle started and soon ended in the rout of the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs. At this juncture, the Sultan stepped in and helped Kushlī Khān in the rout of the infidels in the hope of obtaining a strip in the lands conquerred. But his request was, latter on, turned down by Kushlī Khān. As 'Alā al-Dīn at that time, was not in a position to exchange blows with him,he retired. However the Sultan suspected Kushli Khān, and so ordered that all the inhabi

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, pp. 124-125, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 106; Abu al-Fidā, *Tārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 92, *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 21.

"At the same time, Atabak Uzbak, ruler of Adharbaijan, also marched with the object of invading Iraq and arrived at Hamadan. The Khwārazmian forces marched against him, but when they reached Hamadan Uzbak decamped. The nobles wanted to pursue him but the Sultan did not endorse the proposal. *Jahān Gushā*, p. 84.

tants of the lands adjacent to Kushli's boundry should migrate to the southern districts and the region be made completely un-inhabitable.

However, Ibn al-Athir says that the Gur Khān was captured by Kushli Khān in the encounter of 608/1212. Later on, when the Sultan demanded a slice of the land conquerred by Kushli Khān, and the latter refused to accede to the Sultan's request, a guerilla war started between them which resulted in the complete ruin of the districts laying on the border-line. The Sultan was compelled to stay there till 611/1215.

On this occassion Sultan Muḥammad ordered, that henceforth *Nawbat-l-Sikandari* should be sounded at the gate of his royal palace. It was sounded twice a day viz., at sun-rise and sun-set. It was inaugurated with the beat of twenty seven golden trumpets by the same number of princes belonging to various neighbouring states such as the sons of Tughril the Saljuqid, Malik 'Alā al-Dīn Bāmiyānī, Malik Tāj al-Dīn the ruler of Balkh and Malik Sanjar the ruler of Bukhara.[1]

Expedition against the Caliph of Baghdad

The Sultan's power, after the defeat of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is and conquest of most of the Māwarā al-Nahr, was at its zenith. He, in order to compel the Caliph to read *khuṭbah*[2] in his name, made up his mind to send an expedition against him. The Caliph's epistle to Ghurid brothers found in their treasurers at the fall of Ghaznin, was still rankling in the Sultan's mind. The Caliph also because of the defeat suffered at the hands of the late Sultan, was bitter towards 'Alā al-Dīn. He had secretly been communicating with Muḥammad Yalwaj, prime minister of Chingiz Khān as to

1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p, 126, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol- V, pp. 106-107 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 21, *Guzīdah*, p. 496.

2 Just as sometimes back it was read in the name of Saljuqid. *Jahān Gushā*, p, 120.

induce the Khān to march against 'Alā al-Dīn. The communication was tatooed on the shaven head of a messenger and his hair was left to grow lest even this ruse be discovered. Moreover, the Caliph, on the occasion of the last pilgrimage, had placed the Sultan's flag behind that of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusyan, the ruler of the heretics of Alamut, who had lately turned into an orthdox Muslim. On another occasion, the vindictive Caliph had hired a few *fidā'is* to assassinate the Sultan and Sharif of Makkah for a personal grudge.[1] *Fida'is* by mistake murdered Sharif's brother on the pilgrim day. Further, Aghlamash one of the Sultan's loyal vassal was put to death by the *fidā'is* on the instigation of al-Nāṣir Billāh.[2]

Because of the Caliph's irresponsible acts, the Sultan for some time had been feeling highly offended and awaiting a chance to retaliate. The Caliph as yet exercised immense influence on the Muslim world, as a rightful successor of the Prophet. The Sultan, to beat him on his own ground propunded the theory, that as long as any desendent of Ḥusāyn b. 'Alī was alive, a descendant of 'Abbās could not be regarded as a rightful Caliph; for the Caliphate actually belonged to the former house. Having got his theory supported by the verdict of the ecclesiastic heads, he issued a proclamation throughout his dominions that the present Caliph be considered dethroned. His name be omitted from the *khuṭbah* and the name of 'Ala al-Mulk of Tirmidh, a descendent of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was introduced instead, in the year 614/1218.

The Sultan, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand marched on Baghdad and arriving at Hamadan, encamped there. The Caliph, being extremely afraid of the Sultan's revenge, deputed Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardi, a great saint and thelogian

1 The Sultan was hostile because he, so far could not get mandate of authority from the Commander of the Faithful which was thought essential. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 145.

2 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 121, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 149.

to approach 'Ala- al-Dīn and arrange peace. The saint, arrived at the camp and was admitted. When he entered the royal pavilion, the Sultan was sitting on a carpet, 'Ala al-Dīn, stood up, as a mark of respect to the pious saint, and received him cordially. Shihāb al-Dīn delivered a sermon to the Sultan in Arabic which was translated into Persian. It mostly comprised services rendered by the Abbasids to the cause of Islam, and praise of the then Caliph. The Sultan listened to his speech with great respect sitting on his knees,[1] and hands folded on his chest. When the Shaykh finished the Sultan remarked. "Since the present Caliph does not posses the qualities essential for a commander of the Faithful as hinted at by you in your learned discouse, I therefore, have a mind to remove al-Nāṣir-Billāh and install a suitable man in his place.[2] The saint feeling dejected returned.

'Alā al-Dīn, with his huge army reached Hulwan, a mountainous pass situated near Asadābād. The winter had set in. The very first night, there was so much of snow-fall, that it rose higher than tent-walls and resulted in the death of almost of all the cattle of the Sultan's army and a large number of his men. This was a catstrophe of a great magnitude which entirely frustated 'Ala al-Dīn's designs and shook him to his bones. Having been compelled to forego the expedition for the present, he returned to Hamadan to pass winter there. When the cold season drew to a close, he set out for Rayy to repair his losses, after a brief stay there, the Sultan decamped and returned to Khwārazm.[3]

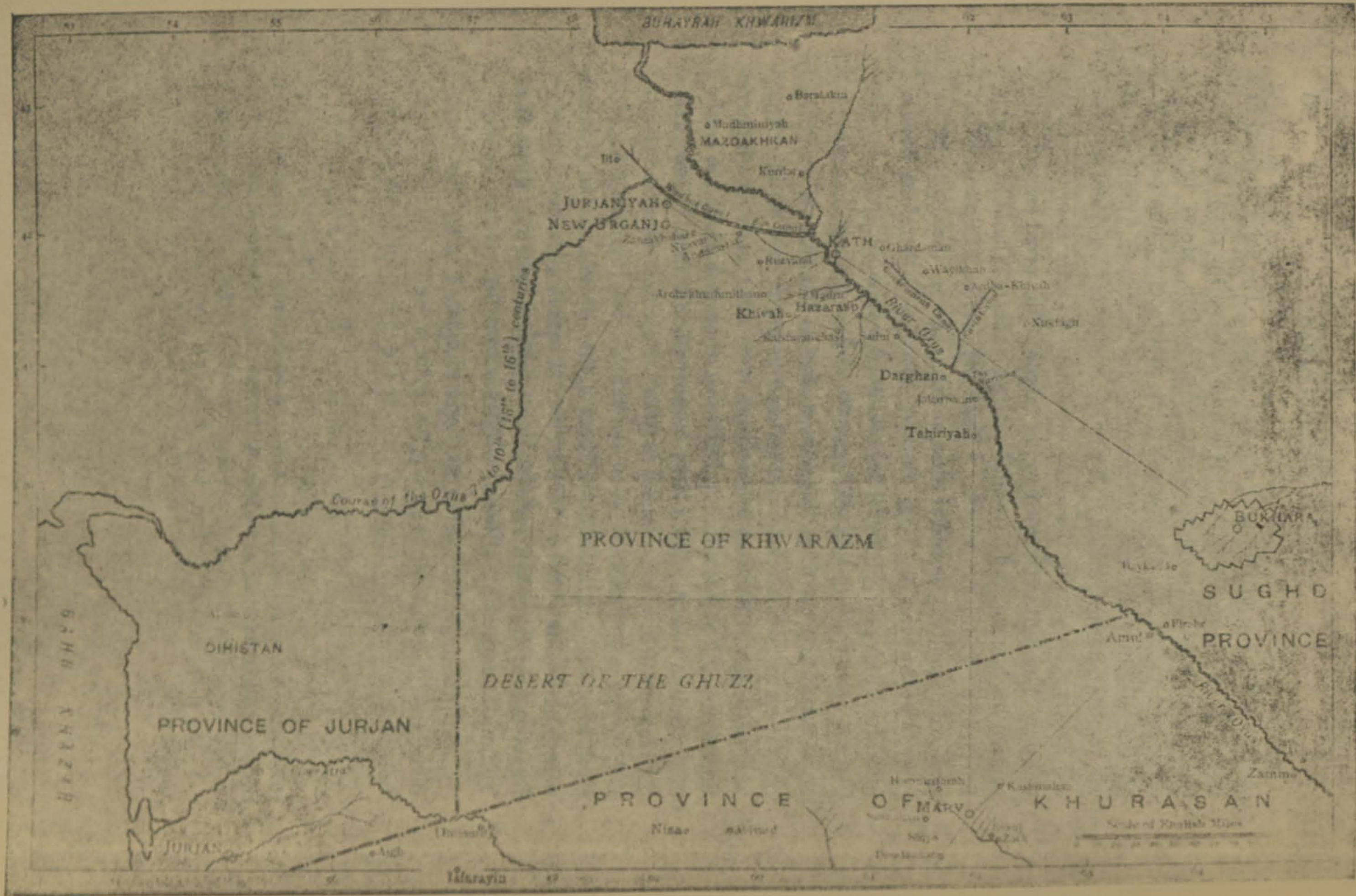
At this stage, the Sultan to avoid bloodshed after his death distributed his dominions among his princes and authorised them to sound *nawbats* five times a day at the gates of their palaces.

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1 Ibn Khaldun, Vol. V, p. 109 ; *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 12.

2 The discourse contained a few precepts meant for the Sultan's consumption. The Sultan retored that the Caliph himself needed this piece of advice more urgently than him ; as he had imprisoned a large number of his relatives on mere suspicion. Ibn Khaldūn. Vol. V. p. 100; *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 12

3 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 146; *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 20, *Jahān Gushā*, p. 98.


BUHAYRAH KHWARIZM
MAZDAKHKAN
JURJANIYAH
NEW URGANJ
KATH
Khivah
Hazarasp
River Oxus
Darghan
Tahiriyah
Course of the Oxus 10th to 16th (13th to 16th) centuries
PROVINCE OF KHWARAZM
DESERT OF THE GHUZZ
DIHISTAN
PROVINCE OF JURJAN
JURJAN
BAHR KHAZAR
BUKHARA
SUGHD
PROVINCE
Amul
PROVINCE OF MARV
KHURASAN
Nisa
Isfarayin
Zamm



KHWARAZM AND NEIGHBOURING REGIONS

Jalāl al-Dīn, the eldest, was given Ghaznin, Ghur, Bust and territory in India. But as the Sultan could not bear his separation in view of his valour and sincerety, Karbaz Malik was appointed his minister to officiate for him. Quṭb al-Dīn Azlaq Shāh, the second son was declared heir-apparent and Khwārazm, Khurasan and Mazandran were given to him. Although Jalāl al-Dīn, being the eldest, was the rightful heir-apparent, yet as the Sultan's mother and that of Quṭb al-Dīn belonged to one and the same tribe, and Turkān-i-Khatūn exercised great influence on the Sultan, she on the inducement of Quṭb al-Dīn's mother succeeded in persuading 'Alā al-Dīn to declare Azlaq his successor.

Ghiyath al-Dīn Pīr Shāh, was the third son of Sultan Muḥammad. The districts of Kirman, Kash and Makran, which were governed by Muāyyid al-Mulk, Qiwām al-Dīn and who, on the occasion of the Sultan's return from Iraq had died, were given to Pīr Shāh and Tāj al-Dīn b. Karīm al-Sharf Nishapuri was appointed his minister to manage state affairs in his absence. Rukn al-Dīn[1] Ghurshāh was the youngest handsomest and the most kind-natured men. The mountainous districts were given to him and Imād al-Mulk Muḥammad b. al-Sadid al-Sa'dī was appointed his minister.[2]

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1 He was called Ghurshāh; as his birth took place on the day the kingdom of Ghur was annexed. *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 26.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*, Vol. V, . 110: *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 26.

CHAPTER III

END OF 'ALĀ' AL-DIN MUḤAMMAD

When the Sultan on his return from Iraq encamped in Mawara al-Nahr, he was waited upon by Maḥmūd al-Khwārazmī, 'Ali Khwājah al-Bukhārī and Yusuf Kanka al-Utrari on behalf of Chingiz Khān, with precious presents, in order to establish diplomatic and commercial relations. The Sultan summoned his compatriot, Maḥmūd and in secrecy enquired from him the number of Khān's forces, the extent of his dominions and the victories achieved by him. The Khwārazmi delegate highly resented it and drew a picture of the Khān at complete variance with the actual facts. The delegation, anyhow, returned to Turkistan, having been duly encouraged by the Khwārazmshah. The Khān was pleased at the report submitted by the delegation and made up his mind to establish relations with the government of Khwārazm.

Shortly after that four hundred and fifty Muslim traders with exceptionally rich merchandise arrived at Utrar. The governor who was the Sultan's maternal uncle coveted their riches and devised a plan to deprive them of their belongings.[1] He wrote to the Sultan, that a large number of spies of Chingīz Khān in the guise of traders had arrived at Utrar and the royal instructions thereon were being anxiously awaited. The Sultan without giving full consideration to the matter, authorised him to do whatever the emergency demanded. The inconsiderate and greedy governor put them all to death and confiscated their property. By chance, one of them, who fortunately was away from this ghastly scene, escaped with his life and informed the Khān of the fateful end of

1 His name was Inaljaq, *Al-Sirat li-Jalāt al-Dīn*, p. 34.

his unlucky comrades.[1] Just as the Sultan's glory was at its zenith his arrogance also knew no bounds. Two instances will suffice to elucidate the point. One of the disciples of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubra, a well-known mystic, called Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī had frequent access to the Sultan's mother Turkān-i-Khatūn and the queen had a special regard for his piety and scholarship. The tale-bearers accused the saint of having illicit connections with the queen and one night when the Sultan was heavily drunk, they secured his death's orders and excuted him (the saint) the same night. Next morning when the Sultan was sober. he repented and sent a messenger to Shaykh Najm al-Din Kubra, with precious offerings and begged his pardon for the offence committed in an unbalanced state of mind. The saint refused to accept presents and remarked "It is the head of the Sultan, his nobles and that of mine, and not precious jewels and valuable stones, that will be the blood-money of Majd al-Din".

His differences with the religous head of Muslim world, and his march on Baghdad, which had ended in his complete ruin, was nothing but another display of arrogance. Similarly the execution of four hundred and fifty Muslim traders, on the basis of a false report, without making an investigation was also due to his fool-hardiness.[2]

When Chingiz Khān heard of the cold-blooded massacre, he thought it was the governor of Utrar, and not the Sultan, who was author of this dreadful incident. He lodged a protest with the Sultan and demanded that Ghair Khān (governor's title) should be handed over to him. Since he was the Sultan's nearest relative and a fairly large number of his tribesmen were in the royal court and weilded considerable influence, the Khān's request could not be acceded to even if 'Alā al-Dīn wished. The Sultan disapproved of this demand and ordered that the messenger should be put to

1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 34. Juwayni says that the Sultan instructed him to put them to death and confiscate their property.

Jahān Gushā, p. 102; *Guzdīah*, p. 496; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

2 *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 25.

death.[1] When the Khān heard of the murder of his people, he went up a hillock, uncovered his head and prayed for consecutive three days and nights invoking the blessing of the Almighty God.[2]

The Sultan had at that time four hundred thousand tried and seasoned soldiers at his personal command. Having come to know of Chingiz Khān's march, he collected one year's revenue in advance and ordered to build a parapet around Samarqand to offer effective resistance. Consciption was enforced and recruitment started. Before the arrival of the newly-recruited soldiers, the Sultan changed his mind and decamped. The four hundred thousand soldiers, who were under his personal command, were distributed to various places. Having kept two hundred thousand soldiers with him, he sent sixty thousand to Utrar, thirty thousand to Bukhara and one lac and ten thousand to Samarqand. This unwise step, reduced Sultan's resistance to the lowest ebb. This was the second blunder on the Sultan's part which contributed to his early and untimely fall.

Chingīz's march

Chingiz Khān before undertaking expedition against 'Alā al-Dīn, determined to exterminate all those adversaries, who could poosibly contemplate an incursion into his country during his absence. Kuchlak and Tuq Tughan, two of his neighbouring chiefs were still a source of trouble to him. The Khān deputed one of his generals to get rid of these foes once and for all. As Kuchlak was hostile to his Muslim subjects of Kashghar and Khutan, he could expect little help from them; he, therefore, when heard of the approachof Chingīz's army, deserted his country and went over to Badakshan.[3]

A party of hunters, all of a sudden, came across those Mon-

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 34; *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 102.

2 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol I, p. 62.

3 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 36-37; *Rawdat al-Ṣafā*, Vol IV, p. 151; *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, f. 170.

gols, who were pursuing Kuchlak.[1] The Mongols requested them to assist them in capturing the fugitives. The hunter's party had, of course, seen some strangers movings aimlessly in that vicinity. They were soon captured and produced before the Mongol general, who ordered their immediate execution.

In the meanwhile rumours were abroad, that Tuq Tughan retreating before the Mongols was proceeding to Jand. The Sultan, who at that time was at Bukhara, in order to prevent Tuq Tughan and his party from entering his territory marched to Jand. But when the Sultan heard, that a large army of the Mongols was in the wake of Tuq Tughan, he returned to Samarqand, and taking all his forces with him, set out to give battle to Tūshi, the Mongol general. Arriving at Jand he pushed on further and reaching a place, between two small rivers, in the vicinity of Kashghar, he noticed the evidences of a battle recently fought. There on battle ground they found a wounded soldier, who disclosed, that a severe battle had been fought on the previous day between Tūshi and Tuq Tughan ending in complete route of the latter, and that the former had left to join his father, Chingīz Khān. The Sultan gave him hot chase and overtook the Mongols the very next morning and engaged them at once. The Mongol commander declined to fight, on the ground that he possessed no such mandate from his father, and that his present mission was, simply to route Tuq Tughan. Moreover he advised the Sultan to abstain from straining relations any further. But the Sultan, as usual, was not in a mood to weigh the facts and ponder over. Anyhow, the battle started and the Mongols fought so heroically that the central line of the Sultan's army was almost shattered. Jalāl al-Dīn, at this critical juncture, arrived there and pushed the Mongols back to their original position. Both the armies stuck manfully to their ground till night and then retired.

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1 Since *Al-Sirat il-Jalāl al-Dīn* has not recorded in full detail the atrocities committed by Chingiz and his barbarian hordes, on the people of Mawara al-Nahr, Khwarazm and Khurasan, therefore Juwayni's account of these events has been incorporated where necessary.

Although the Mongols had acquitted themselves perfectly well in this engagement, yet as they were out-numbered they thought it expedient to decamp at the dead of night, leaving numerous fires burning in front of their tents just to deceive the Sultan's army. 'Alā al-Dīn stayed there for a few days and it was during this stay that he finally decided to avoid all contacts with the Mongols. Misgivings and apprehensions for reasons unknown, overtook him and he with a very heavy heart retired to Samarqand.

Having freed himself of his engagement agaist Kachlak, Chingīz Khān marched to Utrar in 616/4219 to invest it. Meanwhile information arrived, that the Sultan, instead of consolidating his forces on one point, had dispersed them to various places. The Khān's eldest son, Tūshi, was sent to Jand, Chughtā'ī and Oktā'ī were deputed to look after the investment of Utrar, while Chingīz Khān himself left for Bukhara. The defenders of Utrar carried on its defence gallantly for full five months, till they were reduced to bad straits. Ḥājib Qarāchah who reinforced the Utrar garrison with ten thousand men, seeing the miserable plight of the inhabitants favoured capitulation. But as Ghair Khān, who was the root-cause of all this trouble, could expect no mercy at the hands of invaders, did not approve of the suggestion and made up his mind to fight to the last, Qarachah, however, entered into a secret understanding with the enemy and opened at night, the gates of the city.

Next morning Qarachah and his contingent, when produced before the Mongol general, were reproved for their treachery and ultimately put to death. The poor inhabitants also met the same fate.

Ghair Khān with twenty thousand soldiers shut himself up in the fortress, with a firm resolve to fight to the last man. The siege lasted for a month, during which the besieger made many a sally and killed fairly a large number of Mongols. The gallant Ghair went on fighting till he was left with only two soldiers who in the end also fell. When he was all alone, without any arms

he asked his maid-servants to supply him with brick-bats to hurl on the enemy. The Mongols had definite instructions to capture Ghair Khān alive. At the last stage, the maid-servants out of devotion and loyalty to their master, assembled around him and took him in a cordon. When all devices failed, he was captured and put to death by the commander's orders. The citadel and fortress were demolished and the entire city was devastated.[1]

The fall of Fanakat and Khujand

Alak, Saktu and Tukai three Mongol generals having five thousande soldiers under their command, were ordered to march on Fanakat and Khujand. The governor of Fanakat whose name was Iyaltaku, shut himself in a fort and went on fighting for three days. On the fourth day, feeling helpless he capitulated and opened the gates of the city. The whole army and a large number of the inhabitants were killed and a considerable number of youngmen were forcibly enlisted and asked to fight against their own kith and kin. The Mongols thence proceeded to Khūjand, which was governed by a gallant soldier named Timur Malik. He had constructed a lofty stronghold on the point where the river bifurcated. Having heard of the Mongols approach, he with one thousand experienced soldiers decided to defend and hold on as long as he could. Since the Mongol's missiles could produce no effect on the stronghold of Khujand, the youugmen of the city, with many more who had collected there from the places situated nearby, were yoked to reinforce the twenty thousand besiegers. These fifty thousand strong, were divided into small groups of hundreds, fiftys and twentys, and ordered to bring stones from a hill in that vicinity under the direct supervision of the Mongols. These stones, were to be thrown into the river to block it, and deflect its stream towards that imprengable stronghold and raze it to the ground. Timur had not been unmindful of all such possibilities. He had arranged twelve vessels, had covered them with felt and plastered

1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 62-66 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, pp. 27-28.
Note:- The narration as given above is a myth rather than history.

it with a mixture devised by him to safe-guard himself and his men, against enemy's volleys. The sides of vessels were perforated with holes to enable the defenders to shoot in case emergency arose. Every morning Timur Malik deputed six or seven soldiers to go to the opposite bank of the river and engage the enemy. It continued for a considerable time and Mongols could make no headway. At last when Timur Malik realized that his efforts were almost unavailing, he, one night loaded seven boats with his family members to slip away.

The Mongols got a clue of it, ran along both the banks to stop him. Whenever they drew near to put up a resistance, Timur Malik showered a volley of arrows and threw them back. Arriving at some distance from Banakat where mountains approached the river, he landed on the western bank and made for Khwārazm. The Mongols gave him a close chase. Whenever they approached him, he and his men turned about, and kept them engaged till his family were at a safer distance. Though most of his men were killed and effects looted, yet he offered them no opportunity to effect his arrest. At last, a critical stage was reached and he was left all alone with three Mongol soldiers still pursuing him.[1] He was left with three bladeless arrows only. He slowed his pace, and when the pursuers were within reach, he turned and shot an arrow on the foremost of them, which struck his eye. Addressing the remaining two he shouted out "Look up here, I still possess two arrows to kill you both: better you should return". Fair sense prevailed and the two Mongols returned. The gallant Malik arrived at Khwārazm safe and sound. As it was not advisible to prolong his stay at Khwārazm, he followed the Sultan and joined him at Sharistanah.

It was after the departure of Timur Malik, that the Mongols could reduce the city of Khujand.[2]

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 70-74; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, pp. 28-29.

2 His name was Dānishmand, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 24.

The fall of Bukhara.

As it has already been stated, Chingiz, leaving Chughtā'ī and Octā'ī at Utrar, had himself marched, accompained by his son Tūlī and the bulk of his mighty and invincible army to Bukhara, the biggest town in Mawara al-Nahr. Arriving at Zornaq, he sent one of his Muslim Chamberlines to the people of the town and advised them to surrender. Some of the mischief mongers did not approve the humiliating role of capitulation and conspired to harm the messenger. He sensed danger and ascending a mound addressed them: People of Zarnaq I am a Muslim son of a Muslim like you. The Great Khān has deputed me to advise you to capitulate. I promise on his behalf that no harm would be done. But if you insist on resistance the city would be completely ransacked."

The elderly people, realizing the seriousness of the situation, waited upon the Khān and made peace. The younger element, rs usual, was compulsorily enlisted in the Mongol army to fight their Muslim brethern and the name of the city was changed to Khlugh Baligh.[1]

Changiz from there advanced on Nūr.[2] The expedition was led by Ṭā'ir Bahādur. Arriving at the river, they stealthily entered the city gardens and felling trees, prepared ladders and loading them on horses appeared before the main gate. The sentinals took them for a caravan and did not bother much which provided them with an easy entry in the suburbs. When they approached the fort, the garrison wos disillusioned. The news spread like a wild fire and the inhabitants shut themselves in. As usual a messenger induced the citizens to surrender. At this a dispute arose: some pleaded surrender while others refused to submit. At last decision was taken in favour of capitulation. The Mongol commander promised amnesty provided inhabitants vacated the city and moved out with their essential household effects, as he wanted

1 Viz., a lucky city. *Ibid.*

2 One of the dependencies of Bukhara, *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. 1, p. 304'

to give a chance of looting to the Mongol soldiers. The orders were complied with a heavy heart, and the city was passed on to Subtā'i, another Mongol general. On Chingiz's arrival, representatives of the people were granted audience, and the pact already concluded, was ratified. Further, the inhabitants were ordered to pay one year's revenue in advance to equip the newly recruited soldiers.

In Muḥarram 617/March, 1221 the Mongol hordes reappeared in front of Bukhara, and Chingiz's tent was pitched facing the fortress. That very night Kuk Khān, Khamid Bur, Sunaj Khān and Kashli Khān, Sultan's generals with twenty thousand soldiers made a night attack on Mongols. As they were already aware of the plan, the Muslim army was entrapped and put to the sword. Citizens realized futility of resistance, and a deputation, consisting of learned men and theologians, waited upon Chingiz for peace. Their request was acceded to and the gates of the city were opened to receive the Mongols. Chingiz, in order to have a look at the town, set out for a round. When he arrived at the gate of the great mosque, he enquired: 'Is this the Sultan's palace?" No, it is a mosque", was the answer. At this he ascended a few steps and addressing the citizens assembled there said" arrangements should be made to feed our horses". In no time g anaries were unlocked and stores brought out. The great mosque was turned tnto a stable and almirahs having the holy *Qur'ān* and religious books were used as troughs for horses. Scholars and 'ulemas were to serve as grooms. Mongol soldiers took to wine, sung obscene songs and converted the mosque into an ale-house.

From the great mosque, Chingiz rode to 'Idgāh and ordered people to assemble there. He ascended the pulpit and shouting at the top of his voice said "People of Bukhara, I have besn sent as an Agent of God to punish you and your nnworthy rulers Unearth your treasures and hand over all your belongings to my men, if you want to save your lives". The instructions were complied forthwith. Some soldiers of Sultan Muḥammad were still putting up with people of Bukhara. An order to this effect was promulgated by Chingiz and the citizens were strictly forbidden from en-

tertaining any of the Sultan's soldiery. It appears, that despite, strict orders some of them were seen moving about. Chingīz, who was on the look out to find an excuse to punish innocent people, ordered to set fire to the town. As all the houses, except the great mosque were made of wood, the whole town within a period of two or three days, was reduced to a heap of ashes. The governor of Bukhara, with a number of soldiers shut himself up in the citadel to oppose as long as he could. The resistance went on for some days and a large number of Mongols were killed.

At last the walls of the fortress were scaled and governor with all his helpers was killed. Citadel, city walls and parapets were thoroughly demolished. In short, this prosperous city, which for generations had been a centre of commerce and trade and seat of learning and scholarship, was converted into a heap of ashes haunted day and night by beasts.

Youngmen were enlisted in the army and sent to Dabusiyah and Samarqand, Leaving Tusha Baskak at Bukhara as governor the Khān himself left for Samarqand.[1]

The fall of Samarqand[2]

When Sultan Muḥammad had left for Khurasan on the plea to make recruitments, he had left, at Samarqand, a garrison of

1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, p. 84; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafa*, Vol. V. pp. 24-25.

2 As account of the fall of Samarqand, given by Ibn al-Athīr and the author of *Al Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn* is brief, I have preferred detailed accounts of Juwayni Ibn al-Athīr's account : Fifty thousand soldiers were posted by the Sultan at Samarqand to defend it against the surging hordes of Mongols and inhabitants were determined to fight to the last ditch. But the Sultan's garrison had lost courage and refused to co-operate. Hence citizens had no alternatives but to fight for themselves. The battle started and the people, coming out of the city, attacked the Mongols, who, slowly and steadily receded back. They thinking that the Mongols were losing ground, gave them a close chase. An army was lying in ambush who coming out of their dug-outs took them by surprise and cut them to pieces. It is estimated that about seventy thousand Muslims, perished in this encounter. The army also yielded and were killed to a man. This happened in *Muḥarram*, 616/March, 1219. Ibn Athīr, Vol. XIX, pp 166-169

one lac and ten thousand soldiers and twenty elephants to defend it.[1] Defences of the city were absolutely dependable and citizens were resolved to fight to the last man. Since, the Khān was fully aware of these preparations, he, before advancing on Samarqand, had despatched different armies under the direct command of his sons, to various parts of Turkistan to clear his rear and then concentrated all his forces to launch an attack against this stronghold. Having enlisted a large number of soldiers from among the natives, he with a huge army advanced on Samarqand and pitched his tent on a piece of land facing the fort called Kuk Sara. The next day he set out to reconnoitre the city and inspect rampart, ditch, and parapets. Yamah and Subtā'i were deputed to pursue 'Alā al-Dīn.

On the third day, Albaz Khān, Bala Khān and some other Muslim generals coming out of the town, attacked the Mongols. The battle lasted till sunset with considerable losses to both sides.

The next day, Chingīz himself, took command and pressed the defenders so much that they could not come out as usual and make a sally. Although, citizens put up a tough fight, the Mongol tenacity disheartened them and there were suggestions to capitulate, which created a schism among the defenders. The leaders were at a loss and could not chalk out a unified plan of action. On the fifth day while fighting was in full fury, the *shaykh al-Islām* and the *qāḍī* with a few learned men secretly went to the Khān to sue for peace. Chingīz received them cordially and promised amnesty. The gates of the city were opened at the time of night prayers and Mongols entering the town completely raised its defences to the ground that very night. The next morning with the exception of the *qāḍī*, and *shaykh al-Islām* and their dependents who

1 Another version is : The Sultan, hearing this news, felt so nervous, that he decamped from Mawara al-Nahr and crossed Jihūn. As chiefs of his mother's tribe disapproved his defeatist mentality, they parted company with him and went over to Chingīz. The governors of Balkh and Kunduz did the same. An army of thirty thousand strong, under the command of Nawin and Subtā'i was despatched to conquer Khurasan. *Al-Sīrat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 44.

numbered fifty thousand, all the inhabitants were massacred. The garrison in the citadel was at the mercy of the Mongols, who invested it from all sides. Alp Khān, one of the commanders in the citadel with one thousand warriors, fell upon the enemy and after cutting his way through, joined the Sultan who was on his way to Khurasan. The next day the Mongols demolished a portion of the rampart and captured the fortress. About one thousand people had taken shelter in a mosque. It was set on fire and the helpless occupants were burnt alive. Thirty thousand Qanquli and Turk soldiers with their leader Barshamas Khān were put to the sword. Similarly, thirty thousand artisans and an equal number of citizens were seleted as recruits and the rest were allowed to reside there on the payment of two hundred thousand *dinārs* per annum. This took place in 618, in the month of *Rab'ī al-Awwal* May, 1222.[1]

The Sultan's Flight

When Chingiz arriving at Samarqand, learnt that Sultan Muḥammad quiet imprudently had distributed his army of four hundred thousand to the various parts of his vast empire, he, in order to hasten the Sultan's downfall, deputed Yamah and Subtā'i with an army of sixty thousand strong to chase the Sultan, capture him, if possible, and conquer the whole of Khurasan, within the possible shortest period. The Sultan had issued instructions to governors of various towns and provinces, to make necessary arrangements as to defend their respective towns. The fort of Tirmidh was entrusted to the troops of Sistan, under the command of Zingi Abi-Ḥafṣ and fortress of Walkh in Turkistan was placed under the charge of Sām and Pahlwān Arsiah. The fort of Bamiyan was guarded by Amīr 'Umar and that of Peshawar by Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn son of Alī Kharpost of Ghur. Malik Ḥasan al-Din Ḥusayn was deputed to defend the territory of Ghur. Malik al-Kuttāb, Ikhtiyar al-Mulk and Dawlat Yār i-Tughari along with two more Pahlwāns of Khurasan were sent to

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I. pp. 90-96; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, pp. 29-30.

Kalyūn to safeguard it. Malik Shams al-Dīn Jurjānī was sent to Herat, and the fort of Fīwar was entrusted to Pahlwān Aṣīl al-Din of Nishāpur. Similarly, fort of Nusrat Khān was to be defended by Malik Shams al-Dīn, Ḥājib and fort of Rang of Guzarqan was given to the charge of the vassals of Ulugh Khan Abū Muhammad. The fort of Gharjistan was assigned to Sheran, chief of the tribe of Abū Sabṭān. In short in every important fort and city the Sultan appointed one of his distinguished maliks and chiefs to defend it to their level best.

The Mongol princes set out on their missions and crossed Jihūn at the ford of Punjab[1], by the end of *Rbī'-al-Akhir* 617 the last week of June, 1220 and rushed on to Balkh. There they were received by nobles and chiefs of the town and after signing peace moved on to Zāwah. When the Mongols arrived there they were badly in want of rations. They tried to persuade citizens to help them but in vain. Feeling helpless they were just moving further, when citizens thinking themselves safe, beat drums, made sarcastic remarks and used obscene language. At this Mongols stormed the city and after three days' fighting, conquered it and put the inhabitants to death.

The Sultan in his flight arrived at Nīshāpur, in *Ṣafar* 617/ April, 1221, and left it after two months, when he heard of the approach of Yamah and Subtā'i. The Mongol princes arriving at Nīshāpur asked the commanders of the town Mujir al-Mulk Farīd al-Din and 'Alā al-Mulk Zoazani to surrender. On compliance they got a letter of authority regarding their safety, on behalf of Chingīz Khan, as follows :-

"Be it known to every one, great or small, that the whole world belongs to Chingīz Khān, and whosoever surrenders to him. he and his dependents will be safe. But whosoever refuses to submit he will be doing a harm to himself and his dependents."

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1 The sources of Jīhūn, as given by Iṣṭa'khri, were four upper affluents. The main stream was Nahr Saryāb at present known as Punjab, which reached Badakhshan from the east sweeping round it. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 435.

The Mongol leaders moved further in search of the Sultan. Yamah proceeds to Mazandran via Juwain[1] and after conquerring it ordered a general massacre. Subtā'i marched on Jam and Tus and as inhabitants of the latter, refused to surrender, the city was stormed and they were put to the sword. Arriving at Radkan, the Mongol prince left it unmolested in view of its beauty. The people of Khabushan and Asfarian were murdered.

Thence the Mongols marched on the forts of Ilal and Qārūn, where the Sultan had sent his mother and ladies of the royal *ḥaram* for safety.

The forts were conquered and members of the Sulsan's family were sent to Chingiz, occupied with the siege of Taliqan. The male members, however, were killed and females were given to Mongol princes and nobles.

Subtāi, then attacked Dāmghān where a large number of soldiers of both the sides fell. Now it was the turn of Samnan, where the same drama of killing and plundering wss restaged. From there both the princes marched on Rayy and people surrdndered. Yamah went to Hamadan in search of Sultan Muḥammad. 'Alā al-Dawlah ruler of Hamadan, surrendered. As the Sultan had moved further the princes gave up the chase and returned to Hamadān. Meanwhile news arrived. that a number of the Sultan's forces have assembled at Sanjas under the command of Beg-Taghin and Kucha-Bagha Khān and were preparing to carry out a military operation against the Mongols. The princes fell upon them and completely smashed them. Having freed themselves of this undertaking, they entered Iraq and after reducing it advanced on Ardabil which soon fell. The city was burnt and the people murdered.

As winter had set in, the Mongol princes proceeded to Mughan to pass winter there. There was so much of snowfall

1 There were three Juwains. One is a village at a distance of five leagues from Shiraz. The second Juwain is in the province of Nishapur. This district was very fertile and productive. The third was in the province of Sijistan *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 253. 341, 391.

that year at Mughān that communications with the outer world were cut off. Jamāl al-Dīn taking advantage of exceptional circumstances raised banner of revolt in Irāq, murdered Mongol agents and imprisoned 'Alā al-Dawlah their accomplice, in the fort of Karīt. At the advent of spring, Yāma, marched on Iraq to punish the rebel general. Although, Jamāl al-Dīn repented and asked for forgiveness, yet it could do him no good, and he, along with many of his men was killed. The princes, thence, advanced on Tabrīz and after its fall marched on Maraghah and Nakhjawan where a large number of people were killed.

Having conquered Bailakan and Arran, they marched on Shirwan through Darband. As Tūshi's army, at that time, was in the desert of Qbichāq, princes joined him, and later on both armies joined Chingīs Khan.[1].

The Sultan's unhappy end

The Sultan was running from place to place before the Mongols to find out a suitable shelter. During this confusion, he, one day, discussed with his war-council, means to cope with this situation. They suggested that since the condition of Transoxiana had gone out of control, it would be advisible to dig in on the southern bank of the Jihūn and raise a huge army from Irāq. Jalāl al-Dīn also endorsed the proposal and he, nonetheless with all the force at his command, tried to prevail upon the Sultan, but in vain. He refused to budge an inch from the course, he had so far been following and turned down all the appeals made in the name of honour and prestige.[2]

After a long hesitation, he favoured the suggestion to proceed to India and try his luck there. Hardly he had reached Balkh when the love of fartherland did not allow him to proceed farther, 'Imād al-Dīn,[3] a messenger from the court of Rukn al-

1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I pp. 112-116; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol V, pp. 31-33.

2 *Jahān Ghushā*, Vol. II, p. 106; *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, f. 176.

3 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 45; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*. (Vol. V, p. 152), styles him as 'Imād al-Mulk Sawaji.

Din requested the Sultan to proceed to Irāq. Although Jalāl-al-Dīn tried his level best to dissuade him from proceeding thereto yet he turned a deaf ear to his supplications. He refused to fight the Mongols as his star was on the wane and he was advised by the astrologers to refrain from plunging himself in war. He was encamping on the bank of Tirmidh when news of the fall of Bukhara were communicated to him.

A group of Turk soldiers in his army feeling indignant at Sultan's want of courage, conspired to put an end to him. The Sultan's secret service informed him in time, and he, at the dead of night, moved from his tent and escaped death. The soldiers at the appointed hour showered a volley of arrows on the Sultan's tent to kill him. Early next morning, the tent was found full of holes and to the utter disappointment of the conspirators, the Sultan emerged safe. This incident alarmed him so much that he lost faith in all.[1]

The next day when they realized the failure of their scheme they parted company with the Sultan, crossed Jīhūn and joined Chingīz Khan's forces.

Another cause for this mutual distrust was, that a certain noble Badr al-Dīn[2] Ummayd who some time, was the deputy of the Sultan in Turkistan, joined Chingīz Khan; because the Sultan had murdered his father and uncle. Ummayd reported to Chingīz that the Sultan was not on good terms with his mother and therefore all the chiefs of her tribe were feeling discontended. If the Khān, he suggested, should forge a letter addressed to himself on behalf of the Sultan's chiefs and manage to fall it into the hands of the Sultan, it would serve its end. He thought that mutual distrust was the only weapon against which the Sultan could not guard himself.

The Sultan in 617/1219 left for Nishāpur. As he had been feeling extremely worried, he took to wine. His well-wishers

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 109.

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 37-38.

advised him to go to the fort of Qilat, the biggest of its kind, the circumference of which was said to be about seven miles. He with great reluctance proceeded there to inspect the place and make necessary improvements. But as usual the Sultan was not satisfied with the invulnerability of the fort and returned to Nishapur. In the meantime, he was informed that thirty thousand Mongols had crossed Jiḥūn.[1] In extreme perplexity, the Sultan ran to Rayy and thence to the fort of Farzīn. Rukn al-Dīn with thirty thousand Iraqi soldiers was waiting to receive him. After a long discussion it was decided to take shelter in the fort of Shirānkuh and defend it against the Mongols. But on inspection the place was found unsatisfactory.

Taj al-Dīn Umar al-Bisṭāmi was entrusted by the Sultan with ten boxes full of precious jewels and pearls for safe custody in the fort of Ardhān. Chingiz captured the fort and took possession of the boxes.

The Sultan was putting up at Dawlatabād with an army of twenty thousand when he was attacked by the Mongols and it was with great difficulty that he could save himself with a few servants.

Again, a suggestion to take shelter in the mountain of Jangtaku situated between Fars and Dur, was made to the Sultan. But news of the fall of Rayy upset his plans. He with his princes was going to the fort of Qārūn, when, on way he came across a troop of the Mongols. After exchanging a few blows the Sultan took to his heels. Since the Mongols could not identify him, he ran away and saved himself, despite the fact that his horse was wounded.[3]

The Sultan passed a night at the fort of Qārūn and early next morning he showed as if he was going to Baghdād. He took the commander of the fort, whose name was Qalawazan, with him and

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1 *Jahān-Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 152.
2 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p, 46.
3 *Jahān-Gushā*, Vol. II. p 114.

after taking him up to the road leading to Baghdad, he allowed the commander to return and himself proceeded further. After traversing a mile or so on the road to Baghdad, he retraced his steps and set out for the fort of Sarjahan. The Mongols who were in wake of the Sultan, met Qalawazan on way, and inquired from him about the Sultan's destination. He pointed towards Baghdad. The Mongols, to test the truth of his statement took him along and had hardly gone a few miles onwards when the fact belied his statement and he was beheaded.

The Sultan, after passing a week at Sarjahan proceeded to Gilan[1] and on the request of the governor, he passed a week there. From there he went to Aspedar and from Aspedar to Mazandran and stayed, for a day or so, at each of these places.

As, Mazandran was quite within the enemys reach, his well-wishers suggested to leave for the Caspian Sea, to take shelter in one of its islands. The Sultan heeding the advice proceeded to the Caspian Sea and put up in one of its numerous islands. But no sooner his presence was known far and wide than the Sultan moved to a farther island to avoid detection.

The terrible news regarding his royal house hastened the end of the Sultan and he passed away in 617/1221. The circumstances were such that no arrangements could be made even for a shroud and the Sultan was buried in the very garments he was wearing.

The more closely we study the life-story of this ill-starred Khwarazmshāh, the more strongly we are convinced of his stupidity and precipitate actions throughout his career. He succeeded his father in 596/1199 as ruler of a vast empire which extended from Amu to the Indus ; an empire larger even than that of the Saljūqīds. Takish, who was succeeded by 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad could hardly have imagined that his ambitious and rackless son, would commit such tactical blunders as to bring down the savage hordes of

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 48 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 153; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*: p. 1023 ; *Jahān Gushā*. Vol. I, p. 70.

blood-thirsty Mongols on his fatherland. We hold no brief for this self-willed and imprudent monarch, who was the cause of terrific irruption of the barbarous Mongols, who throughly annihilated all traces of Islamic culture and civīlizatīon, built during the last six hundred years by the labour of successive generations. A little calm and sober thinking on his part, would have definietly saved the Muslims from the dreadful catastrophe.

Having learnt of the rout of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is, Chingīz Khān sent an envoy to the court of the Sultan, for the appreciation of his military expeditions, especially the one undertaken against the Qarā-Khiṭā'īs, a Christian state, which had been a source of danger to all the Muslim neighbouring states. The Khān desired to establish political and commercial relations with this promosing state. And it was just out of sheer regard, that the Khān remarked that he loved him as if he was his own son. The innocent remark proved the root-cause of the tragedy which shattered the entire structure. The Sultan took strong exception to it, and made up his mind to punish Chingīz for his uncalled-for remarks. Anyhow Chingīz's envoy returned with assurance, to maintaining friendly diplomatic relations between the two states. This was followed by the episode of the caravan which was looted at Utrar. The Sultan not only refused to surrender or punish the offending governor but ordered execution of the Mongol envoy. This was a signal for an un-ending trouble which lasted for more than fifty years and as a consequence of which innumurable innocent people were butchered in cold-blood.

Populus and prosperous cities like Nishapur and Marw, centres of civilization and commerce, with a population of about fourteen lacs each, were literally razed to the ground, and poor inhabitants were to a man put to death. Khwārazm, the metropolis, met a fate no less miserable than that of Nishapur and Marw. Bukhara, a centre of religious and secular sciences conquered after a brief siege was burnt to ashes. No quarter was given to anybody.

The Sultan, at the time of the Mongol invasion was having

four hundred thousand trained and well-disciplined soldiers under his command. Though Jalāl al-Dīn and the Sultan's war-council strongly protested against fragmentation of the army, and pleaded to form a defence-line on the western bank of the Jīhūn to stem surging tide of the Tartars, the imbecile Sultan turned a deaf ear to it. There is no doubt that a magnificient army with a century old glorious tradition, under the able generalship of prince Jalāl al-Dīn, would have successfully withstood the onslaught of these hounds. He and his people had to pay dearly for wrong strategy. For full two years, he had been in the hot waters, running from one end of land to the other to find an asylum. Reports of atrocities committed by the Mongols pouring in at regular intervals, had a demoralising effect on the fugitive Sultan. This game of hide and seek went on till he breathed his last on the Caspian Sea, and the gallant Jalāl al-Dīn had a free hand to face the situation.

However, it goes to the credit of the Sultan, that he extended greatly the sphere of his political influence, by liquidating the empires of Malikshāh, the Saljuqid and Shahāb al-Din of Ghur. But he was uncharitable towards his fallen foes, even when he was at the height of his glory.

Turkān-i-Khatūn excercised great influence over her son so much so, that it was not unoften that she set aside the Sultan's orders. The courtiers curried favour with her to serve their personal ends, sometimes with grave consequences for the state.

Jalāl al-Din was the eldest prince and the bravest soul ever born in this dynasty. Arzalaq Sultan the youngest son was, however, proclaimed heir-apparent on the persuation of his grand-mother who did not like Jalāl al-Dīn and though the Sultan in the heart of his hearts was convinced that nobody except Jalāl al-Din could shoulder the burden of responsibility, yet he dared not oppose his self-willed mother.

No plausible explanation for over-night change in his mental attitude as not to oppose the enemy can be given. It was possibly due to his superstitions. He was advised by his astro-

loger, that as his star was on the wane, he should avoid encountering the Mongols and wait till it was again on the wax.

The list of his short-comings does not stop here. Besides, short-sightedness, cowardice, superstition and lack of imagination he suffered from jealousy which also played a very important role in his life. Mawlānā Bahā al-Din, father of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Din Rūmi well-known for his voluminous work, was his contemporary and was highly respected for his piety. The Sultan also admired him. On one occasion, when the Sultan paid a visit to the saint accompanied by Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din, the *shaykh al-Islām*, to his utter disappointment, there was such a great rush at the darwesh's residence that he (the Sultan) had to wait for some time. This was an affront which he could not brook. He consulted Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn and since the philospher was not on good-terms with the saint, he suggested that the latter should be asked to migrate and settle somewhere else. As the Sultan could not do so openly, he instead, sent keys of his treasury to the saint, meaning, that he was the defacto ruler and not the Sultan. The Mawlānā was shocked and migrated to Syria. While leaving Balkh he remarked, the Sultan could not tolerate a *faqīr* in his dominious and compelled him to leave his native place, the time is not far off when he shall meet the same fate". The whisper of the saint's prophecy had hardly died on the ears of this petty-minded Sultan, when dins of the trumpets of the Mongols was heard on the northern frontier and the Sultan had to run and the whole country was given a blood-bath.

In brief, keeping in view the magnitude of the tragedy which befell the world of Islam and its far-reaching disastrous consequences, we can offer no apology for this unbalanced despot.

The Fall of Khwarazm[1]

Chingiz after conquering Samarqand and firmly establishing himself in Mawara al-Nahr, deputed his sons, Tūshi Chhughtā'ī

1 Here again I preferred *Jahān Gushā's* (Vol. I). narration to Ibn al-Athir's account which is as follows:-

(*Continued on page 99*)

and Oktā'ī ,by the end of 618/1222, to reduce the capital of mighty empire of Sultan Muḥammad. It was called Jurjāniyah by the Arabs and Urgānj by the natives and was a prosperous town situated on the western bank of the Jīhūn. Since no prince at that time, was present in the capital, a chief of Qanquli tribe named Khumar-Tigin, a relative of Turkān-i-Khatūn and known

(*Continued from page 98*)

The Sultan's absence from the capital was a strong temptation to the Mongols to conquer it. Firstly Bājī Khān, a Mongol commander marched with a large army. He was soon followed by Oktā'ī, Chingīz's son and other military experts to chalk out a suitable plan. Catapults were pitched up around the city. But as stones were not available there, mulberry trees were felled and cut to pieces, to serve as missiles. The commander to save the town from being ransacked, wished to enter into negotiations with the Mongols. The youth as usual, were against any such settlement. The Sultan, who was in the Caspian Sea, also advised surrender.

The siege lasted for five months and citizens killed thousands of the Mongols. When Chingīz heard of their stiff resistance, he despatched a contingent of soldiers to reinforce the besiegers. Citizens, realised that further resistance was useless and sued for peace through their police commissioner, 'Alī al-Dīn Al-Khayyāṭī. He was cordially received by the Mongol commander, but his request for peace was turned down, for a large number of his men had been killed and he wanted to avenge them. At last city began to fall bit by bit ; and the whole population with the exception of artisans was put to death.

The water of Jīhūn was deflected with the result that almost all the houses were demolished and not a single living soul was seen there when the Mongols made off. This happened in 617-618/1221-1222.

Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 182 See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*. Vol. V. pp. 117-118.

Another chronicle (*Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*) states that Khwārazm was invaded when Sultan Muḥammad was at the Caspian Sea (p. 92, 93 and 94.) It is at variance with his statement made on page 56, which shows that after the death of Sultan Muḥammad when Jalāl al-Dīn was still at the Caspian Sea, a man named, Kuh-i-Dārughah taking advantage of the Sultan's absence, had put himself at the helm of affairs, and it was on the approach of Jalāl al-Dīn that order was restored. Though it is difficult to determine the exact date of the sack of Khwārazm, yet it appears that the event took place after the death of 'Alā al-Dīn when the Mongols had brought the whole of Khurasan under their control.

as Kuh-i-Dārughah was chosen as leader and title of Sultan was conferred upon him.

One day a group of horsemen approached the city and drove away a large number of cattle. When citizens pursued them, they offered no resistance, and people, being encouraged, followed them up to a garden called Bāgh-i-Khurram, where a Mongol army was lying in ambush. They pounced upon unwary citizens. A severe battle ensued which lasted till sunset. When the citizens etired, a number of the Mongols also entered under the cover of darkness, and penetrated upto a quarter named Tanurah. As number of the Mongols soldiers was not large enongh, they managed to escape. The next day, again they approached, and were thrown back by Faridūn Ghūri, who with five thousand men was there. On the third day, Chughtā'i and Tūshi with their armies, arrived there. A messenger was sent to the citizens to surrender but they refused to oblige the enemy. They thereby, fixed up their catapults on mounds around the city. As there was scarcity of stones in the vicinity of Khwārazm, bullock carts were employed for transport from a hillock at some distance. Blocks of mulberry trees soaked in water, were also used as missiles. Khumar Tigin, soon lost heart and the Mongols scaling walls entered the town and hoisted flag on the fortress. Although, a large portion of the town was burnt to ashes, by naphtha and other inflammable materials used by the Mongols, yet, citizens did not give up resistance. The Mongols realized that by burning the city, they would be deprived of a rich booty. They therefore deputed three thousand soldiers to deflect water of Jihūn against the city walls to affect a breach there. Citizens blocked their way and killed them to a man. Being emboldened they picked up courage and stiffened their resistance. At last, the end approached and the defenders being outnumbered had to yield. The survivors were driven out of the town and with the exception of the artisans and youngmen who were enlisted in the army and young women and children who were made slaves, the rest were killed.[1]

1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 96-101 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V. pp. 32-33.

The fall of Balkh and Taliqān.

When Chingiz had deputed Yamah and Subṭā'i to conquer Khurasan, he himself had marched to Nakhshab to pass summer there. At the advent of winter, he advanced on Tirmidh and advised people to surrender and eraze defences of the city. But inhabitants refused to comply with this humiliating demand. A battle started and though inhabitants put up a tough fight, at last, on the eleventh day the city fell, and citizens were put to death. The Khan, therefrom, marched on Kankart and after reducing it killed all its inhabitants.

Balkh, in those days was a populous and prosperous town, When Chingiz arrived there, people capitulated and did not offer any resistance. Though citizens were, at first pardoned, yet, later on when Chingiz heard of Jalāl al-Din's presence nearby, he changed his mind and killed them all fearing that they might rebel.

Taliqan was the next objective of Chingīz Khān, which was very well fortified. Arriving there, he advised the people to surrender but since no reliance could be placed on his promises, people preferred to die rather than to surrender abjectly. The battle started and Chingiz despite his best efforts could not reduce the town till he was reinforced by the army returning from Khurasan. Inhabitants as usual were put to death. This happened in 618/120-21.[1]

The fall of Khurasan.

When Chingīz Khān, after the fall of Balkh, had been investing Taliqan, he made up his mind to conquer the whole of Khurasan and to expedite the matter, he deputed Tūlī, his youngest son, with eighty thousand soldiers in 618/1221 to reinforce the main army. Sharf al-Dīn[2] Muẓaffar entitled Mujir al-Mulk, was

1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 112-116; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, pp. 31-35.

2 The father of Sharf al-Mulk was a clerk in the royal treasury. His mother who had been in the Sultan's *ḥaram* for some time, was given away by the Sultan to Muẓaffar's father. She was pregnant and gave birth to Muẓaffar after some time. When he grew up, he joined the Sultan's army. *Jahān Gushā* Vol. I. p. 131.

governor of the place prior to the Mongol's invasion. He was summoned by the Sultan and replaced by another man named Bahā al-Mulk. The Sultan, while running before the Mongols. had imparted special instructions, to governors and commanders of various towns and forts, to oppose the Mongols only in places where they could possibly cut some ice; otherwise to avoid bloodshed they were advised to surrender. This unwise suggestion aggravated the situation and town after town began to f. ll to the Mongols. Bahā al-Mulk likewise, removed his valuables to the fort of Yak-Yazar and leaving his deputy at Marw took shelter there.

Soon, afterwards, a Turkman called Buka with the help of his clansmen entered Marw and put himself at the helm of affairs. A large number of the Sultan's soldiery, who on his death, were left leaderless, assembled around him and took him as their commander. Mujir al-Mulk Muzaffar, who, after the Sultan's death was going to Marw, while passing by the fort of Saāluk, was cordially received by the commander of the fort, Shams al-Din 'Alī. A considerable number of Turks and Tajiks assembled around him to assist him in conquering Herat. Muzaffar, therefore, thinking himself strong enough, marched on Marw and encamped in front of Dar-i-Sarrajan. The chiefs of the Marghari tribe who had joined hands with Buka, deserted him and rejoined their old master. As Buka could not hold any longer against Mujir al-Mulk he surrendered and entered his service.

Mujir al-Mulk, having eight thousand men under his commad. resolved not to submit to the Mongols. But the *shaykh al-Islām* of Marw, Shams al-Dīn Ḥarīth, who wanted Mujir al-Mulk's fall for a personal grudge against him, entered into league with the Mongols, through a relative of his, the *qāḍī* of Sarakhs, a place already subdued. The *shaykh al-Islām* on a Friday while delivering a sermon to the congregation said "The curse of Allāh be on those who oppose the Mongols". The remarks were extremely resented by people and the *shaykh al-Islām* had to withdraw those words and apologize. But soon a

conspiracy was unearthed and a letter of the *shaykh al-Islam* addressed to the *qāḍī* of *Sarakhs*, bearing on the subject under investigation was intercepted. The *shaykh al-Islām* was summoned in the court and asked to clear his position. He pretended complete ignorance of the allegation and refuted it vehemently. The letter was produced and the *shaykh al-Islām* felt dumb-founded. As Mujir al-Mulk did not like to prolong the matter, he asked the *shaykh al-Islām* to leave the court. The traitor, had hardly risen to go away, when one of Mujir al-Mulk's men pounced on him and killed him.

As Mujir al-Mulk disapproved of the action of the people of Sarakhs, he sent his troops to harass them. Bahā al-Mulk, who was still in the fort of Yak-yazar, learning of the state of affairs at Marw and Sarakhs, approched the Mongols and begged their permission to obtain the possession of Marw on an annual tribute of one piece of cloth per head. The term was accepted and he was asisted to accomplish the task. Arriving at Shahristanah, he wrote a letter to Mujir al-Mulk, saying, "Although, previously, there existed a misunderstanding between you and myself and I certainly entertained a grudge against you, yet as the circumstances, at present, have changed altogether, I administer a piece of advice to you. You know the Mongols are not a people to be beaten easily I, therefore, advise you to capitulate and save your compatriots from being butchered by these barbarians". The letter completely unnerved Mujir al-Mulk and he and his army chiefs, made up their minds to surrender, but later on, on the advice of his well-wishers, he resolved to stand the ordeal. Bahā al-Mulks' messengers were resummoned and individually cross-examined regarding the number of the Mongols army. They one and all supported the statement made by Bahā al-Mulk and advised him not to oppose the Mongols. He foolishly put them all to death.

As Mujir al-Mulk, was feeling highly offended, by the humiliating message of Bahā al-Mulk, he deputed twenty five hundred men to drive him and his Mongol associates away. When the

Mongols, noticed that Bahā al-Mulk's own men were deserting him, they put him under arrest and took him to Tus where he was disposed of. The *qāḍī* of Sarakhs who had surrendered the town to the Mongols, was handed over by people to Mujir al-Mulk. He passed him on to a man whose father, some time back was unjustly killed by the *qāḍī*. He killed him by way of retaliation. Mujir al-Mulk thinking himself out of danger took to luxuries.

In the meantime there arrived a Turkman chief, ruler of Amuyah,[1] who reported that the Mongols had reached Amu and were lying siege to the fort of Kalat. Soon after there came six hundred Mongols in persuit of the Turkman chief and engaged his tribesmen. Two more Turkman chiefs Shaykh Khān and Aghul having got a clue of the Mongol's resolve, had been lying in an ambush and waiting for a chance. The Mongols were attacked unwares and thus they lost a large number of their men. The Turkman chiefs captured sixty Mongols alive and after parading them in the streets, as a war trophy put them to death. Shaykh Khān and Aghul thence went to Dastjard (or Dastkhard) and proclaimed Ikhtiyar al-Din as their leader. They resolved to wrest Marw from Mujir al-Mulk. He also sensed trouble and in order to defeat their designs, prepared to face the danger. The Turkman chiefs conscious of the fact that they were not strong enough to oppose Mujir al-Mulk, encamped at the bank of Marw al-Rūd and pillaged nearby villages. This was the time when the advance of Tuli on Marw was reported.

Arriving, at some distance from the town, Tūlī deputed four hundred horseman to study enemy's position. They, in the pitch dark night, also encamped on the same bank of Marw al-Rūd on which the Turkman's had already encamped. The chiefs expecting no trouble, despatched troop after troop after brief intervals, to storm the town. The Mongols intercepted them every

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1 The Oxus river was called Amuyah or Amu by the Arabs. Ḥāfiz Ābrū says that it was originally the name of a city on the great river which later on was given to the river itself. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 426.

time and killed them to a man. The next morning the Mongols attacked Turkman's camp where their families were putting up, and more than seventy thousands souls were cut to pieces.

After this bloody deed, which took place on the fifth Muḥarram Tūlī, taking his position in front of Shahristanah attacked the town. Mujir al-Mulk, who was fully prepared to meet the enemy, picked up two hundred soldiers to emerge out of the town and rush on the Mongols. Tūlī who, himself was in command of the army, ordered his men to advance. Muslims being a handful turned back and entering the town, shut themselves in. On the very first day, Mujir al-Mulk lost heart and requested Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn one of the scholars at Marw, to wait upon Tūlī and arrange for peace. The request was granted. The next day, Jamāl al-Dīn was again summoned by the Mongol commander and ordered to submit a list of richmen of the town to facilitate collection of fine to be levied on citizens. A list containing two hundered names was supplied and they were ordered to yield all that they possessed.

Having accomplished it, the Mongols entered the town and turned all the inhabitants out and after separating men from women, put them all to sword. An exception was, of course made in favour of only four hundred artisans and some young girls. It is stated that every Mongol soldier had to kill four hundred men and that more than thirteen hundred thousand people were butchered. Completing this fiendish task the whole city was demolished and not a single house was left intact. Amir Ḍiyā al-Dīn 'Ali, one of the nobles of Marw was appointed deputy and Barmas Mongol as superintendent.

Tūlī Khān marched on Nishapur. Hearing of the Mongol's departure people who were hiding themselves underground, came out. They numbered five thousand. Another troop of the Mongols who had to join Tūlī happened to pass through Marw. Survivors were ordered to supply every soldier with e specific quantity of grain. The orders were complied and the inhabi-

tants, little thinking as to what was in store for them, were killed to a man. The misfortune was not yet over. After some time there happened to pass another Mongol commander proceeding to Nishapur. Just, by the way, he ordered his soldiers to kill whomsoever they found. In the meantime information was received that the ruler of Sarakhs, Abū Bakr son of Shams al-Dīn Pahlwān had turned a rebel. Ḍiyā al-Dīn, in order to punish him proceeded to Sarakhs and Barmas Mongol with four hundred men left for Bukhara. A handful of people of Marw who were still living in the ruins of the city, thinking that Barmas's departure was due to the rumour of Sultan Jalāl al-Din's approach, rejoiced at it by the beat of drums. This offended him so much so that he returned and killed all those he could lay his hands on.

Ḍiyā al-Dīn, after suppressing rebellion at Sarakhs, returned to Marw and repaired its walls and citadel. The refugees from far and wide began to pour in. A chief of the late Sultan Muḥammad, named Kashtigin, with a large following arrived there and invested the city. Ḍiyā al-Din to avoid further bloodshed vacated the place and went away to Maraghah. Kashtigin entering the city repaired its fortifications and defences. Some of the citizens who did not like Kashtigin, wrote to Ḍiyā al-Din to return and take possession of the town. Kashtigin having learnt of it deputed a body of troops and captured him and put him to death. In the meanwhile a Mongol commander Qarachah arrived at Sarakhs and, as Kashtigin was not in a position to oppose him, he ran away to Sangpusht leaving a deputy at Marw. Qarachah chased him and killed a large number of his followers.

After four or five days, there arrived again at Marw two thousand Mongol soldiers on their way to join Qutuqu. Half of this number proceeded to destination and the second half laid a siege to the city. Since their number was inadequate, they sent a messenger to Turba'i and Kabar, Mongol commanders, for reinforcement. People, who on previous occasion had run away to different places, thinking that the storm was over, were coming back and the number was growing daily. After five days, there

appeared on the scene Turba'i and Aq Malik with five thousand men to conquer the town. Soon it was reconquerred and inhabitants were put to death. The number of those who fell victims to Mongol cruelty on this occasion was one hundred thousand. Not feeling satisfied even with this the Mongol commander, assigned various quarters to different groups to complete the unholy mission of destruction. Aq Malik was asked to throughly carry out this plan, and search those who concealed themselves under ground. A man was deputed to call *adhān* from the minaret af a mosque. This welcome voice induced many unwary Muslims in that vicinity to come out of their hiding places. They were caught and taken under custody. The search lasted for forty days and all those caught, were hurled down a lofty building and were smashed to pieces. It is said that only four Hindus were spared.

When the news of all clear spread abroad, people who had run away to neighbouring places, returned and one of the chiefs called Arsalān installed himself as their ruler. Having heard of this a Turkman of Nasā attacked Marw and driving out Arsalān occupied his seat and attached to himself a following of ten thousand strong. Within the next six months, he could extend his influence to Marw al-Rūd, Panj-Dih and Taliqan. Being encouraged he advanced on Nasā to annex the territory. Suddenly, he was attacked by the Pahlwān staying at the fort of Yawar and was compelled to run away. Marw yet had to face another misfortune. Qarāchah, once again, with one thousand Mongols marched on the city and killed all those whom he could lay his hands on. This massacre lasted for forty days and hardly a handful of persons could save themselves. After his departure there appeared another Mongol who carried on such an elaborate search that all survivors except ten or twelve Hindus were killed.[1]

The fall of Nasā

Nasā was comparatively a safe place as it had a very strong

1 *Jahān Gushā.* Vol. I, pp. 119-132; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā,* Vol. V, pp. 34-36; *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn,* pp. 49-50.

wall. Once during the reign of Takish, people of Nasā, had revolted and the Sultan had to reduce it with great trouble. Again their loyalty was suspected and the city wall was raised to the ground by Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn. As the Mongol attack was expected any moment, arrangements were made to defend the city to the last man.

Chingīz Khān in order to conquer Khurasan deputed an army of twelve thousand soldiers to accomplish the job. Soon an army under the command of a brave soldier named Pil-Gush advanced on Nasā. The battle started and the Mongol commander was shot dead. The siege, however, lasted for a fortnight and ended in the fall of the city. All the citizens were put to the sword.

The fall of Nishapur

Sultan Muḥammad, while running before the Mongol hordes arrived at Nishapur and in utter disappointment advised citizens to surrender rather than fight. But people resented his cowardly advice and strained every nerve to fight tooth and nail. When news of the approach of Yamah and Subtā'ī reached the Sultan, he selected Fakhr al-Mulk, Kāfī, 'Umar Rakhi to carry on administration in his absence and himself left for an unknown place. Sharf al-Dīn, governor of Nishapur, was at Khwārazm. He, learning of the Sultan's departure, set out for Nishapur to prevent disorder. But as misfortune would have it he died, when he was still at a distance of three stages from the seat of his government. As there was danger of a rebellion by his slaves, his death was kept secret, till the party arrived at the destination. On the very next day, the 19th *Rabi' al-Awwal*, 617/25th May 1220, Taisi, a Mongol commander who was in the van-guard of Yamah and Subtā'ī arrived there and asked people to surrender. Mujir al-Mulk commander of the place, remonstrated "I am an old literary man ruling the town on behalf of the Sultan. You are in his pursuit, if you succeeded in caputiring him the place will automatically go to you without any bloodshed". This unsophisticated answer appealed to the Mongol commander, and he after accepting some presents and purchasing supplies, moved onwards.

The next month arrival of Yamah and Subtā'ī was reported. They sent for the *shaykh al-Islām*, the *qāḍī* and other ministers for a parley. The pact already arrived at with Taisi, was ratified on the proviso that fortifications of the town should be demolished and the Mongol armies whenever they happended to pass by the town be entertained and no act prejudicial to this pact be committed.

Citizens, for some time, faithfully abided by the terms of the pact, but no sooner did they hear of the Sultan's successes in Iraq, they began to think otherwise, The Mongol officer at Tus had been constantly advising them not to be misled by the rumour and not to act precipitately. As ill-luck would have it, one of the mischief-mongers at Tus killed the Mongol officer and sent his head to Nishapur. Sayyid Bū Turāb, governor of Tus, secretly left for Ustuwa[1] to intimate the incident to Kashtamur, encamping there. On his return, he arrested the mischief-monger and killed him with a large number of his followers.

In the middle of *Ramaḍān*, there arrived, Tughajar, son-in-law[2] of Chingīz with ten thousand soldiers and took his position at a place called Nooshjan[3]' known for its running waters and trees laden with fruits. The battle started, and lasted for three days. Citizens put up a tough fight and the Mongols after losing their commander raised the siege.[4] The second in command, a Mongol called Nurkus sent half of his forces to Tus to reinforce Kashtamur, and with the other half, he advanced on Sabzwar and after conquerring it killed seventy thousand people there. Nukan and Kar were also conqurred and inhabitants as usual were killed.

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1 This is the name of a district the chief town of which was Khabushan. It means a highland. *The Lands of the Eastern Calipate*. p. 393.

2 Ibn Khaldūn (Vol. V, p. 53), styles him *Tajjār.*

3 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 53.

4 Ibn Khaldūn, (Vol. V, p. 116) says that people of Nishapur put up such a tough fight that the Mongols laid siege four times and raised it four times. It was on the 5th occasion that they could reduce it.

Tūli in those days was having his hands full and could not extricate himself to avenge his brother-in-law's death till advent of spring in 618/1221. He with a large army marched on Nishapur. Two hundred catapults and three thousand "*Tīr charkh*" were fixed up around the town and on outer walls to intimidate people. They soon lost heart and deputed *qāḍī al-mamālik*, Rukn al-Dīn 'Alī b Ibrāhīm to sue for peace. Tūli refused to accede to their request and detained the messenger. The major attack began on the 12th *Ṣafar*, 618/19th April, 1221, and lasted till the afternoon of the 14th *Ṣafar*, 618/21st April, 1221, when the Mongols dammed up the ditch at several places and caused breaches in city walls. At the same time, city wall was also scaled at several places: life and death struggle ensued. Defenders left no stone unturned to push back the invader but to no avail. The next day the whole of the town was flooded with the Mongols. Although there was no hope of averting calamity, citizens did not slacken and went on fighting tooth and nail. The resistance, however, weakened and the defenders began to lose ground. A search was made to trace out missing Mujir al-Mulk. He was dragged out of a cell and put to death.

As Tūli, had definite instructions that to avenge death of his brother-in-law, he should kill all inhabitants of the city and demolish the whole town, he ordered survivors to march out. Orders were literally carried out and not a single creature including dogs and cats was spared and not a single house however humble, was left intact. The wife of Tughajar was also present at this horrible scene. She also killed as many people as she could. Artisans, as usual, were exempted and sent to Turkistan. A Mongol officer with a small garrison was left there to kill any person who appeared there later on.[1]

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 133-140; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 37; *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, (p. 54) says considerable number of people concealed them selves in underground houses where from they could not come out.

The fall of Herat[1]

Long before the arrival of Tūlī Khān, Yamah and Subṭa'i had also passed by Herat, while pursuing Sultan Muḥammad and the governor of the place, Amīr al-Mulk, in view of unfavourable circumstances, had submitted, and city was not molested. Later on, when Tūlī Khān was deputed to accomplish his task, he, after the fall of Marw and Nishapur marched on Herat, the fourth biggest town in the province of Khurasan. Arriving at Shabtu, a plain near the city, he sent a messenger to the governor to surrender. The new governor Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad in cooperation with his nobles, had effectively fortified the town. When the Mongol delegate delivered his message, the Amīr ordered him to be beheaded and remarked "Cursed be the day when I should have the yoke of these barbarians around my neck". The next day, when Tūlī Khān heard of the fate of his envoy, he ordered his men to lay a seige and reduce the town.

The battle started and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad fought so bravely that the Mongols, within a period of seven days, lost seventeen hundred people including several big Amīrs and distinguished nobles. On the eighth day, the attack was led by Tūlī himself. Shams al-Dīn emerged out of the town with a strong force and stood his ground steadfastly. He served the enemy with such deadly blows that had it not been for an arrow that struck Shams al-Dīn and killed him on the spot, the Mongols would definitely have taken to their heels. His death caused a schism among defenders. The soldiery and a number of inhabitants wanted to fight to the last, while the party consisting of priests and religious heads advocated surrender. Luckily, Tūlī had taken a fancy to Herat and he did not like to treat it as he had treated the cities of Nishapur and Marw.

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1 It is strange that both *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn* ard *Jahān Gushā* are silen about the fa of Herat, whie its importance required a full account from both the authorities.

Riding a horse on the 9th day of battle, he addressed the citizens, standing on the edge of a ditch and said, "People of Herat ! Listen to me, I am Tūlī son of Chingīz Khān. If you want to save yourselves and your kith and kin, stop further resistance and pay one half of the annual tax as a token of your good faith". As these words were spoken in good faith and as there was a tinge of sincerity in what he said, citizens held a parley and decided to surrender. The provost of the city *qāḍī* 'Izz al-Dīn with one hundred weavers, each having nine pieces of the best silken cloth, waited upon Tūlī Khan, who received them cordially. In the meanwihle Tūlī changed his mind, and ordered them to be put to death. It was followed by a general massacre in which about twelve thousand people were killed. As no further molestation was considered necessary, general amnesty was granted After appointing Amīr Abū Bakr Maraghani as governor, and Mangtā'ī as police commissioner, Tūlī left to join his father at Taliqan which was still holding out.[1]

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1 *ahān Gushā*, Vo. I, pp. 133-136; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 38.

CHAPTER IV

JALĀL AL-DIN KHWARAZMSHAH (I)

'Alā al-Dīn had five sons: Jalāl al-Dīn, Arzlaq Sultan, Aq Sultan, Ghīyāth al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn. Although Jalāl al-Dīn the eldest, was the rightful heir, yet as the Sultan's mother and Arzlaq Sultan's came of one and the same tribe, the Sultan was prevailed upon, and compelled to make a pronouncement in favour of Arzlaq. Jalāl al-Dīn did not attach much importance to it and during the Sultan's ordeal, he did not leave him even for a single day. This weighed in his favour, and while the Sultan was on his death-bed in the Caspian Sea, previous declaration was cancelled and Jalāl al-Dīn, the only person who could successfully stem the surging tide of the Mongols, was declared heir-apparent.[1] The announcement was cordially received by people. The Sultan's fatalistic policy was equally disapproved by generals as well as by his valiant son. They considered it a stigma on their military traditions to run before hordes of Chingiz without exchanging a blow.

The death of his father offered Jalāl al-Dīn an opportunity to make a choice between the inglorious course followed, so far, and fighting a battle to win or to die. He, with his brothers and handful of soldiers, who had followed the late-Sultan to the Caspian Sea, left for Khwārazm. The citizens received him with open arms, and the number of soldiers, who hearing of Jalāl al-Dīn's arrival had assembled there, came up to seven thousand. While all the nobles and soldiery appreciated the nomination of Jalāl al-Dīn, Qatlagh Khān, one of the late-Sultan's nobles, obviously for selfish reasons, sounded a note of discord, and upholding the

1 *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 500.

claims of Arzalaq Sultan, planned to kill Jalāl al-Dīn. The plot was disclosed to him by Inānaj.[1] As Qatlagh was having ninety[2] thousand soldiers at his command at that time, the Sultan, left for Manqashlagh to avoid civil war.

Chingīz Khān was also keeping himself in touch with the whereabouts of the Khwārazmian princes. Having heard of their presence at Khwārazm, he despatched an army to rout them. Jalāl al-Dīn had already left Khwārazm. Aq and Arzalaq hearing of Mongol's approach also left for Nasā. When the Mongols were advancing at Khwārazm, a troop of seven hundred soldiers detaching themselves from the main body, laid in ambush in a desert, near Nasā, to fall upon the princes, if they happened to pass by that road. Jalāl al-Dīn, while crossing this desert, was attacked unawares. The Mongols were overwhelmed by the Sultan and took to their heels. Aq and Arzalaq, who were following the Sultan, reached that spot, after three days. The governor of Nasā, who knew of princes' approach informed them of Mongol's presence in that vicinity and warned them to be on their guard. They had hardly gone beyond Ustuwa when they met the Mongols. A bloody battle ensued which ended in complete rout of the Mongols. The princes were still encamping there, that suddenly there arrived a larger Mongol army who besieged them and killed them to a man.

The Sultan, on his arrival at Nishapur, contacted all the Khwārazmian nobles to put up a united front against the common enemy. The Mongols, having heard of the Sultan's presence at Nishapur, at once, marched on the city to put an end to his activities. As the Sultan was not fully prepared to face the enemy, he

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1 *Al-Sīrat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 57.

2 *Al-Sīrat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 59. Juwayni says that Jalāl al-Dīn on his way to Shadyakh confronted a Mongol army at Bastu and put up a tough fight. But as the number of his army was smaller than that of the Mongol's he under the cover of night moved away from the scene of action. The very next day, Aq and Arzalaq passed that way unawares. They were attacked by the Mongols and killed. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 132 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 156. He arrived at Ghaznin on 15th *Dhu'l Hijja*, 617/1220.

left[1] for Ghaznin to gain time for a decisive battle.

The Sultan reaching Zawzan[2] wanted to take shelter in its fort; but as the fort was not strong enough to withstand Mongol's onslaught, he was advised not to take risk. He moved farther on.

Having arrived at Bust, the Sultan heard of Chingīz's presence at Ṭāliqān. After two or three days halt, he heard of the arrival of Amīn Malik, governor of Herat, returning from Sīstān. Amīn had ten thousand[3] soldiers at his command. The Sultan contacted him and asked him to join him as soon as possible. Another army of the Mongols was busy besieging Qanduz.[4] The Sultan immediately left to reinforce the people of Qanduz. But as the Mongols were taken unawares and their number was not large enough, they raised the siege and ran for their lives.[5]

As the Sultan was being closely followed by the Mongols and he could not afford to waste time, he proceeded to Ghaznīn and

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1 It is said that the inhabitants did not let him enter the place on account of the fear of Chingiz. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 134.

2 He was encamping at Ghaznin with fifty thousand soldiers. *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* f. 1040.

3 A big trade-centre in southern Afghanistan, known for its delicious fruits. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 347.

4 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarikh*, Vol. V, p. 117; *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 62-63. Juwayni says that when the Sultan left Nishapur (Shadyakh), the Mongols who were in his wake arriving there, learnt of his departure to Ghaznin They quickened their pace to overtake him on the way. As the Sultan was fully alive to his critical position, while leaving Shadyakh he had taken Malik Ildrak with him, and reaching a bifurcating point, asked Malik to wait there for the arrival of the Mongols and engage them for a while to enable him to gain time. As the Malik was not a man to burn his fingers for someone else, the Sultan had hardly covered a few miles when the Malik took the opposite direction and went away. The Mongols shortly reached that point, and after a little hesitation followed the road that Malik had taken. But after a few mile's pursuit, they were disappointed and returned. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 135.

5 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p 80; *Jāmi' al-Tārīkh*, f. 1026. Ibn Khaldun adds that Chingiz on his army's rout, sent another army under Tuli, who was killed and the army defeated. *Tarikh*, Vol. V. p. 120.

arrived there in the beginning of 612/1222. The citizens gave him a rousing reception and rejoiced at his arrival as their saviour. He passed winter there, and was in the meanwhile joined by Sayf al-Din, Ighraq and princes of the house of Ghur, 'Azīm Malik, ruler of Balkh, Muzaffar, ruler of Ighania and Hasan Kazlak, each of them with thirty thousand soldiers under their command.

In the beginning of spring, the Sultan marched to Barwan and arriving there learnt that the Mongols had been laying a siege around the fort of Bamiyan, which was about to fall if not reinforced in time. The Sultan hastened to their rescue, and as the Mongols were over-powered, they raised the siege and ran way, leaving a consideralε number in slain and captives. They crossed Āb-i-Bārāni and destroying its bridge took position on the other bank. When night closed in, the Mongols realizing the weakness of their position, decamped and the Sultan returned to Barwan.

Chingiz at the time of this reverse was encamping at Ṭaliqān. He, despatched another army of thirty thousand strong, under the command of Shiki Qūtuqū.[1] The Sultan, having learnt of their approach, moved out of his camp to meet them half way. He put his army in battle array fixing up Amin al-Malik on the right and Sayf al-Dīn Ighraq on the left. The Sultan, himself was in the centre. The army was ordered to dismount, and fight to win or perish. The battle started with all its fury. As the Sultan's right wing was the strongest point in his army, the Mongols to draw a wedge rushed and pushed them back. But the Sultan's timely succour restored them soon to their original position. The battle lasted till night, with its scales almost equally balanced.

The next morning, when armies faced each other, Muslims to their utter surprise discerned another column of cavalry at some distance. They thought that the Mongols were being reinforced[2] and

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1 Another version is that Tuli was the commander of this army. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, p. 120 ; *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 81.

2 The Mongols were ordered to fix up effigies on their horses which looked as if they were men. *Rawdāt al-Safā'*, Vol. V, p. 156.

therefore, felt disinclined to fight any more. The war-council was summoned, and though generals wasted much of their breath to dissuade the Sultan from fighting any more, yet they could not prevail upon him. He ordered soldiers to dismount as usual and attack simultaneously, The Mongols who had already tested the valour of Sayf al-Dīn's men, put up their best soldier against them. But despite all this Mongols were not a match to them. They were hurled back and overpowered. The Sultan ordered to beat drums to make the last charge. Though the Mongols rallied around their commander once again and tried their level best to check the advance of the Sultan's forces, yet they failed miserably and were utterly routed.

In the meantime an altercation took place between Amin Malik and Sayf al-Dīn Ighraq, about a horse and Amin quite foolishly struck him on his head. Ighraq reported the matter to the Sultan, but he not being sure of Amīn's loyalty did not reprimand him. The Sultan nevertheless tried his best to dissuade Ighraq from parting company and clearly explained baneful consequences of this step, but Ighraq could not put up with the insult and left that very night.[1]

Chingīz, who was waiting for a suitable opportunity heard of discord in the Sultan's army and having mustered all his forces marched out of Taliqan. The Sultan, learning of Chingīz's intention left Barwan for Ghaznin, to cross the Sindh and retire to India. Chingiz, arriving at Barwan heard of the Sultan's programme and seeing through his plan he rode in such hot haste to Ghaznin, that his soldiers on many occasions could not cook their food. At Ghaznin, Chingiz learnt that the Sultan had, about fifteen days ago, left for India. He rushed forward and did not halt even at nights. It was in the month of *Rajab* in 618/September, 1222 that Chingiz's forces overtook him. They arrived at night, surrounded the Sultan on three sides. The fourth one was

1 Ibn al-Athir (Vol. XII, p. 183) says that Sayf al-Dīn's brother was killed in this altercation. It is also said that the more Sultan tried to placate him, the more adamant he became.

blocked by the river. At day-break when the Sultan surveyed his position, he found himself between the devil and the deep sea. Though he had very little hope to succeed against odds he, however, determined to stand his ground firmly. Early in the morning, the battle started and the Sultan attacked the centre of Chingīz's army with such a force that the Tartar chief took to his heels. The Sultan's army gave chase. But as Chingīz had laid ten thousand men in ambush, they coming out attacked the chasing army. Amīn Malik's troops closely pursuing the Mongols, could not face this unexpected danger and scattered in various directions. One of the Sultan's son was also captured and killed.[1]

Amīn Malik, with the remnant of his troops made for Peshawar, but as all the roads were blocked by the Mongols, they were pounced upon and killed to a man. The same was the fate of the left wing under the command of Khān Malik. The Sultan, who from morning till noon, had been fighting a losing battle was left with seven hundred men only. Although, gallant Jalāl al-Dīn was straining every nerve, Mongol's cordon around him was tightening every moment and his position was becoming more and more critical on account of the arrival of fresh Mongol troops. Chingīz had given explicit orders to capture the Sultan alive. Ujash Malik, the Sultan's cousin finding that he was in danger, caught hold of the bridle of his horse and dragged him out of the cordon. The Sultan, riding his relay-horse plunged once again into the theater of war to do his last bit. Having killed a number of Mongols who were continuosly pressing on him, as a last resort he dashed towards the river and arriving on its bank jumped into it. The river was running at a level of thirty feet below the overhanging bank. The Sultan crossed it and reached the opposite bank safe and sound.[2] Chingīz galloped to the river's side and was struck with wonder at his gallantry. He could not help admiring his

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1 Ibn al-Athīr (Vol. XII, p. 183) says that this particular battle lasted for two days which ended in complete rout of the Mongols. *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 83-84.

2 *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, p. 181.

mortal enemy and addressing his sons, remarked, "Here is a son worthy of his father."

The Sultan sitting on the opposite bank, was a helpless witness of the cruel treatment being meted out to his family and men left behind.[1] This happened in 618/1221.[2]

Jalāl al-Dīn in the Subcontinent

The Sultan upto afternoon prayer, was seen sitting alone waiting for some stragglers. At last, he was joined by five or six who pitched a tent for him. After a few days' stay the number reached one hundred. In the meantime the Sultan's scouts informed him about the presence of a number of Hindu soldiers making merry and committing adultery in their immediate neighbourhood. The Sultan arming his men with sticks, fell on them unwares. Most of them were killed on the spot and those who survived, ran away leaving arms and equipment there. Articles were collected and removed to the Sultan's camp. When news of Jalāl al-Dīn's presence in that vicinity reached the ruler of the mountain of Judi he to nip the evil in the bud marched against the Sultan with one thousand and five hundred soldiers. The Sultan, with a handful men put up a very tough fight, and the raja was killed. By and by the stragglers went on pouring in and number of his soldiers increased. Again it was reported that two or three thousand Indian soldiers were encamping in that vicinity. Jalāl al-Dīn attacked them and the expedition resulted in the capture of some arms and a few horses.

This alarming news upset most of the rulers in that vicinity and there assembled another army of five or six thousand, men to measure arms with the Sultan. Jalāl al-Dīn, at that time, was having hardly five hundred men. He braved the danger and was victorious. Gradually, the number of his men swelled to five or six thousand, a force which under Jalāl al-Dīn's command could

1 *Jahān Gushā*, p. 141.

2 *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 84.

of course achieve something substantial. Chingīz, who was still marking time on the opposite bank of the river having heard of the Sultan's strength, deputed an army to scare him away. But as the Sultan was not in favourable circumstances, he marched towards Delhi and the Mongols who were in his wake, after ransaking Malakpur,[1] retired. Jalāl al-Dīn, arriving in the vicinity of Delhi despatched an envoy named 'Ayn al-Mulk to the court of Sultan Iltumish requesting him to assign him a suitable asylum. Since Iltumish could not safely trust the Sultan and at the same time could not annoy Chingīz, he was on the horns of a dilemma. After some day's hesitation, Iltumish poisoned the Sultan's envoy to conceal what had passed at his court in his presence. He informed Jalāl al-Dīn that his envoy died of disease and he was of opinion that climate of this country would not agree with the Sultan's health. Anyhow, a place in the vicinity of Delhi could be assigned to him. It was conveyed to the Sultan through a noble at the court of Delhi with rich presents and supplies for the Sultan's army.[2]

The Sultan did not approve the proposal of Iltutmish and returned to Balala and Bankala, The number of his army, on account of the arrival of more soldiers, was in the neighbourhood of ten thousand. A contingent was despatched to the Judi hills to reduce the chiefs of that part. Rai Kokar Sankin, gladly offered his daughter in marriage and sent his son to pay homage to Jalāl al-Dīn. The Sultan received him cordially and conferred the title of Qutlugh Khān on him,

Jalāl al-Dīn meanwhile was informed that the daughter of Amīn Malik, one of his commanders, killed by Chingīz, was with Qubāchah, the ruler of Sindh. The Sultan sent for the girl. Qubachah sent the girl to him with a large number of presents inclu-

1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 85-86. Shahpur in Sargodha District (Punjab) is mean there.

2 Nothing is known definitely regarding the Sultan's stay in India except a passing remark made by the author of *Al-Fatuḥāt al-Islām* in the second volume on page 231 (printed in 1330 H. in Egypt).

ding an elephant. The gesture was of course, appreciated. On the occasion of the last mishap on the bank of the Sindh, the Sultan's minister, Shams al-Mulk Shihāb al-Dīn Alp had gone to Qubāchah and entered into his service. Since the minister was a capable man, the ruler of Sindh, liked him very much. Qubāchah, having been under the impression that the Sultan would not survive the calamity, had in an unguarded moment disclosed to the minister, some of his inner secrets. When Jalāl al-Dīn heard of his minister's presence at Qubāchah's court, he wrote to him for his early despatch. The ruler of Sindh, being afraid of the disclosure of his secrets by the minister poisoned him. Another noble of the Sultan's court Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad was also with Qubāchah. He related the whole story to the Sultan, which pained him very much. Moreover he stated that Qaran Khān son of Amīn Malik, after the death of his father, happened to pass through Kalur where he was murdered by a man who coveted the pearl in his ear-ring. He presented the pearl to Qubāchah who instead of punishing him rather rewarded the murderer. The Sultan felt exasperated, marched on Kalur and besieged it. The city after some resistance surrendered. On this occasion an arrow struck Jalāl al-Dīn and his hand was wounded. He, thereform marched to a fort called Barnozaj. Qubāchah with ten thousand men confronted the Sultan and was defeated.

After Qubāchah's defeat, the Sultan marched on Nahawdar, governed by the son of Qubāchah, who had rebelled against his father. He offered some presents and the Sultan proceeded to Sistān or Sadustan (Sehwan). It was ruled by a deputy of Qubāchah, named Fakhr al-Dīn Salari. He surrendered and the Sultan moved to Uch and thereform marched on Khansar ruled by a governor of Iltutmish. Meanwhile the Sultan heard of the approach of Iltutmish at the head of one lac of infantry, thirty thousand cavalry and three hundred elephants. A skirmish took place between the vanguard of both the armies with the result that a large number of people perished. Iltutmish to shed no more blood sued for peace and offered his daughter in marriage to him.

A treaty was signed and the Sultan despatched two of his messengers to Delhi. They learnt there that all chiefs of India had united to fight the Sultan under the command of Iltutmish to shorten his stay in their neighbourhood.[1] As the Sultan was not in a position to fight them all single-handed, he leaving Jahān Pahlwān as his deputy there himself moved to Iraq.[2]

The Sultan, in the meanwhile was informed that his younger brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīrshāh had established himself in Iraq and his troops were anxious to have Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn as their leader. Similarly he learnt that Buraq Ḥājib[3] had invested Jawashir. Moreover the news that a large army of the Mongols was chasing him and that Chingīz had died on his way home encouraged him to move to Iraq. He left via Makran and there he lost a considerable number of his army owing to incongenial climate.

When the Sultan approached Jawashir, the governor of the place, who was holding the city on behalf of Ghiyāth al-Dīn against Buraq waited upon the Sultan and handed over the keys

1 Juwaynī says that Chingīz hearing of the Sultan's success in India, despatched an army that obliged him to go to the lower Sindh. Arriving in the sight of Multan, the Sultan asked Qubāchah to pay a certain amount as idemnity. As Qubāchah knew that the Mongols were after the Sultan and he could do him no harm, he refused to pay anything. The Sultan after two day's halt marched to Uch after setting fire to Multan. He therefrom went to Sadustān ruled by Fakhr al-Dīn Salari, a deputy of Qubāchah. He sent one of his generals to fight the Sultan but was defeated. Feeling helpless, Fakhr al-Dīn yielded. The Sultan stayed there for a month or so ; whence he proceeded to Dibal leaving Fakhr al-Dīn as his deputy. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 148.

2 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp 80-92.

3 Ibn Khaldun says that Buraq was a chamberlain at the court of the Ghur Khān, of Khiṭā. He left his service and came to 'Alā al-Dīn and was given the same job. Later on, when Ghiyāth al-Dīn moved to Iraq he enlisted himself in his service. At the time of the Sultan't march to India he was at Kirman as deputy of Ghiyāth al-Dīn. On Jalāl al-Dīn's return from India, the Ḥājib's double-dealing was reported to him and he wanted to arrest him But Sharf al-Mulk Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abū al-Qāsim Aljandi, the prime minister (his title was Khwājah Jahān) intervened and said that this action would scare away people, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V. p. 122.

of the fort to him. The Ḥājib also submitted and offered his daughter in marriage to earn his good-will.

After a few days halt, the Sultan in the company of a few of his nobles went for sports. He asked the Ḥājib to accompany him, but he lagged behind on the pretext of pain in his feet. The Sultan later on came to know of his pretence, and just to test the truth of Buraq's statement, he asked him to come to the hunting ground as he wanted to consult him regarding an expedition to Iraq. The Ḥājib, expressed his inability on the same pretext and advised him to proceed without further delay, as Jawashir was not a place to be selected as seat of government. Moreover, he assured Jalāl al-Dīn of his loyalty as his deputy. No sooner did the messenger leave than he turned the Sultan's soldiers out of the city and closed the gates. As Jalāl al-Dīn did not like to fall out with him, he pocketed the insult and proceeded to Shiraz, governed by Atabak Sa'ad b. Zangī. When Sa'ad heard of the Sultan's arrival he deputed his son Salghurshāh with five hundred men to give him a cordial reception, and apologized for his inability to receive him personally, for he, some time back, had sworn that he would never go out of Shiraz to receive any one. The Sultan accepted his apology, received his son with great favour and conferred the title of Farzand Khān on him. When Jalāl al-Dīn reached the neighbourhood of Shiraz, Sa'ad sent him presents and supplied all that he needed. An agreement was signed and Atabak married one of his daughters to the Sultan to establish good relations. Sa'ad's eldest son Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū Bakr, heir-apparent, was since long in prison. He disapproving his father's submission to the late-Khwārazmshāh, had attacked him with a sword in 613/1217 and wounded him. The Sultan, took pity on the young prince recommended his case to the Atabak and asked him for his immediate release. Although Sa'ad was extremely displeased with his disloyal son, yet he acceded to the Sultan's intercession. When Jalāl al-Dīn left for Isfahan, Abū Bakr was set at liberty and allowed to follow the Sultan's train.

Jalāl al-Dīn's arrival at Isfahan was reported to Ghiyāth al-

Din at Rayy. He deputed thirty thousand soldiers to fight aginst his eldest brother, with implicit instructions to completely rout him. The Sultan did not like to quarrel with him, and wanted to avoid clash at any cost. He on the contrary stressed on Ghiyāth al-Din the urgent need for the unification of their programme to put up a united front against the Mongols. The Sultan at the same time sent a large number of rings to be distributed among the generals and nobles of Ghiyāth and reminded them of favours conferred on them by him. Being misled by his advisors Ghiyath detained the delegates. Meanwhile one of his nobles, secretly approached the Sultan and requested him to march at once as all the generals and men were anxiously awaiting him. The Sultan though unwilling was prevailed upon by his nobles to march against his unkind brother with three thousand soldiers. Ghiyāth could not hold his ground and was forced to run away to the fort of Saluqan. When the Sultan, entered the camp of Ghiyāth, he found the latter's mother there whom he treated with respect and complained against her son (Ghiyāth). This good news brought around him all the fugitives of Khurasan, Māzandrān and Iraq and once again the people of these districts reposed trust in him. The surrounding lands were soon conquerred and he was acknowledged as their ruler.[1]

After this the Sultan conqerred Kirman, Iraq-i-'Ajam, Fars, Khuzistan, Arbil, Adharbaijan and Tabriz.

The Sultan moves to Baghdad

In the beginning of 621/1225, the Sultan, after passing winter at Tustar, moved to Shahpur-Khawast, from where after a month's stay he marched to Baghdad, to request the Caliph for military help against the Mongols, the mortal enemies of Islam. But, since the Caliph had sustained many a defeat at the hands of the Sultan's ancestors, he disapproved of the idea and flatly refused even to grant him an audience. Rather, he deputed one of his Turkish slaves, Qashtamar with twenty thousand soldiers to drive Jalāl al-

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Din*, pp. 95-98.

Din out of his dominions. Moreover, he wrote to Muẓaffar al-Din, the ruler of Arbil to march against the Sultan and crush him. Qashtmar was advised to wait for the arrival of Muẓaffar, before launching an attack on him. But as Qashtamar had twenty thousand men under his command, and the Sultan's following consisted of only two thousand men, the former saw no reason as not to attack Jalāl al-Dīn. Although the Sultan tried his best to dis suade him from attacking him as he was a guest of the Caliph and came to beg for assistance, yet Qashtmar turned a deaf ear to the Ṣultan's request. The Sultan could not see his way to fight with a handful of men against twenty thousand.

Having left with no alternative but to fight, he put his five hundred men in battle array and laid remaining fifteen hundred in ambush. The battle started and after exchanging a few blows the Sultan's army ran away. The Caliph's army pursued them. When they were within their reach men in ambush pounced on them and put them to flight. Jalāl al-Dīn's men gave them a hot chase and killed many of them. Qashtamar also lost his life.

Meanwhile news of Muẓaffar's approach reached Jalāl al-Dīn. He being unaware of the fate of Qashtamar, was going to join him to fight against the Sultan. Leaving his bag and baggage there the Sultan moved onward to surprise Muẓaffar. Jalāl al-Din concealed himself and his men behind a hillock, and awaited his chance. Muẓaffar's ten thousand men had hardly passed by, when the Sultan pounced upon their rear, and put them to flight. Muẓaffar was captured and brought before the Sultan who pardoned him and treated him generously. It had a soothing effect on Muẓaffar who took the Sultan to Arbil and kept him there for some time as his guest.[1]

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1 From Daquqa, the Sultan marched on Maraghah and after subduing it attended to the repairs of the royal buildings and stayed there for a while. Ighan Taisi, the maternal uncle of Ghiyāth al-Din, who was going to Hamadan with fifty thousand soldiers, passed through Adharbaijan and after ransacking it moved to Arran to pass winter there. On his return in the next spring when he again happened to pass by Adharbaijan, he once again wanted to attack it.

The fall of Adharbaijan

The Sultan marched on Maraghah and conquered it. But his army, after the siege treated the people so unkindly that they were deprived of all their posseesions. Adharbaijan was the next object of the Sultan. When the citizens of Adhharbaijan heard of the miserable plight of the people of Maraghah, they were so afraid of him, that they submitted without offering any resistance. The Sultan after taking control of the place despatched Mujir al-Dīn 'Umar b. Sa'ad al-Khwārazmi to the ruler of Rūm and Shām informing him of the fall of Adharbaijan and his leading an expedition against the Gurjis [1]

The fall of Tabriz.[2]

Uzbak Pahlwān was the ruler of Tabriz. When he heard of the Sultan's approach, he fled to Ganjah, leaving behind his wife, the daughter of Ṭughril, the last Saljuqid King. As the nobility of the city were fed up with their old ruler, they invited the Sultan to avail of the opportunity. He marched on Tabriz and occupied it. The city of Khay was bestowed on the wife of Atabak. As she was not on good terms with her husband, she got a decree of divorce against her husband from the court of

The news were communicated to Jalāl al-Dīn, He rode at once and hurried to the scene to save citizens from the calamity hovering over their heads. Ighan was encamping outside the city and waiting for a suitable opportunity to accomplish his ignoble job. The Sultan arriving there at night surrounded his camp. Early next morning when Ighan awoke, he found himself in the clutches of the Sultan and had no alternative but to send his wife, Sulan's sister, to his camp at his intercessor. Truce was signed and the Sultan taking Taisi's whole army under his personal command, appointed him as his deputy at Adharbaijan He left a troop of his own men with Taisi to keep a close watch on him. The Sultan, thence, advanced on Daquqa and beseiged it. It was now the turn of Bawazil. When the citizens heard of the atrocities inflicted on the inhabitants of Daquqa, they prayed for amnesty which was granted. The Sultan leaving his deputy there went to Azarbaijan, Ibn al-Athir. Vol. XII, pp. 195-96, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Vol. V, pp. 123-124.

1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn,* p. 111

2 *Ibid.* pp. 111-112.

'Izz al-Din, the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Tabriz and married Jalāl al-Dīn. This treacherous act pained the poor husband who died the same day, and the whole country passed on to Jalāl al-Din,[1] Khwarazm-shāh. He, after a brief halt at Tabriz[2] marched to Khay where the queen was putting up, leaving Niẓām al-Dīn as his deputy at

1 He was a nephew of Shams al-Dīn Taghray and was brought up by the queen and was a just and noble man. Ibn Khaldūn Vol. V, p. 126.

2 Ibn al-Athir (Vol. XII, pp. 198-199), says that on the flight of Uzbak, the Sultan sent a garrison there. As the garrison annoyed people, they complained to Jalāl al-Dīn, who ordered their withdrawl. After a few days when the Sultan moved to Tabriz, citizens closed the gates and refused to let him in. A battle started and inhabitants soon sued for peace. The Sultan agreed and bestowed the rule of Adharbaijan, Arran, and Khay on the queen.

One version is that the Sultan laid a siege around the city. The queen happened to see him once sitting in the front of his pivilīon and took a fancy to him. Moreover, she was not on good terms with her husband, she therefore secretly communicated her desire to marry him as she had been since long divorced by her husband. She tried to get the decree of divorce from Qiwām-al Din, the High Judge of Tabriz, but he could not see eye to eye with the queen and refused to award a decree. He, therefore, was deprived of his high office which was bestowed upon another learned man named 'Izz al-Dīn Qazwīnī, who awarded the queen a divorce against her husband and declared her wedding to the Sultan as lawful. *Rawḍat al-Safā*, p. 159. All this was managed secretly by the queen keeping the nobility quite in the dark. The Sultan was encamping out side the city and the inhabitants were anticipating something disastrous. The queen, one day, sent for her husband's nobility to discuss the matter with them. She, addressing them said." "Gentlemen" You all know that my husband due to sheer cowardice left Tabriz and ran away to Ganjah. Jalāl al-Dīn is encamping outside the city and waiting for a chance to pounce upon us. You know that we are not in a position to oppose him. Therefore, I propose, provided you all agree, to come to terms with him, on the conditīon that the city should not be bothered and that the queen and her relatives should not be molested and that they should be allowed to proceed to Khay or any other place they choose." As nobody liked to fight against the Sultan, the queen's proposal was unanimously endorsed and Qāḍī 'Izz al-Dīn with a few delegates was sent to Jalāl al-Dīn to sign a peace treaty with him. The Sultan agreed to it and the queen and her relations left for Nakhjawan. The Sultan entered the city and after a few days halt followed the queen. When the news of the queen's treachery reached Uzbak he passed away that very day. Ibn al-Athir's account is almost the same with very little difference. Vol. XII, pp. 198-199, Cf. *Guzīdah*, p. 501.

Tabriz. This took place on the 17th of *Rajab* in 662/26th July, 1226.

The Fall of Gurjistan

Gurjistan in those days was governed by a Christian tribe called Gurjis, who were descendants of the Christians of Armenia. They had succeeded in wresting Tiflis from Ṭughril, the Saljuqid, in 515/1122 and established themselves and tried to extend their political influence far and wide. At one time even the rulers of Armenia, Shirwan, Rum and Akhlat paid tribute to them.[1]

The conquest of Tabriz added another plume to the glory of the Sultan and enabled him to have a sigh of relief after a tough struggle. But the Gurjis, taking the Sultan as undesirable neighbour, were nervous. They knew it for certain, that no sooner did he get foothold in Tabriz, than he would make their life miserable. In order to nip the evil in the bud they marched against him with a formidable army of sixty thousand strong.

The Sultan who was fully aware of all that was going on at the the court of Gurjistan, marched to meet them half-way. When he arrived on the banks of the Aras,[2] Jahān Pahlwān informed him of the large number of the army that the Sultan had to face. The enemy was encamping at the peak of a lofty hill awaiting the Sultan's arrival. Jalāl al-Dīn thought that Gurjis in order to fight

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1 *Al Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn* pp. 112-113 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 127. Ibn al-Athīr says that as the Gurjis themselves were not good neighbours and frequently, ransacked the neighbouring Muslim ountries, the Sultan was obliged to attack them in *Sha'bān*, 622/1225, and conqured Dawin. The Gurjis to check his advance marched with seventy thousand soldiers. But the Sultan inflicted such a crushing defeat on them, that they lost twenty thousand soldiers in that encounter. Shalwah was captured and Iwani took shelter in a fort. The Sultan's soldiers worked such a havoc that they had no alternative but to migrate. The Sultan returned to Tabriz leaving Ghiyāth there as his deputy. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p 300.

2 Juwayni says that the Gurjis were encamping in a pass called Karbi and the Sultan fell on them unawares. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 159; *Jami' al-Tawārikh*, f. 1031.

him, must move down. But as they did not stir and the Sultan could not wait indefinitely, he ordered his men to scale the hill. They had hardly ascended a few steps, when the Gurjis also advanced towards them. The Muslims paused for a while and then suddenly retraced their steps, as if they could not face them. The Gurjis quickened their pace to overtake them and reached the foot of the hill. This was what the Sultan wanted. A pitched battle was fought which resulted in the complete[1] rout of the former. Shalwah[2], their commander was taken a captive.

After the fall of Gurjistan the Sultan advanced on Zun and reduced it. He was still encamping there, when Sharf al-Mulk, prime minister, informed him that Shams al-Dīn Ṭughrai and Niẓām al-Dīn, ruler of Tabriz had revolted against him. The Sultan marched on Tabriz at the head of a small number of soldiers. Since the Gurjis were still active, the Sultan gave definite instructions to his men to attack them frequently and compel them to migrate there from.

The Sultan arriving at Tabriz ordered the arrest of both Niẓām al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn, on the false report of Sharf al-Mulk and killed Niẓām al-Dīn and imposed a fine of one hundred thousand *dīnārs* on Shams al-Dīn and sent him to Maraghah to be imprisoned there. As Sharf al-Mulk feared the detection of his unholy plot against the two innocent persons he did not slacken his efforts to get rid of Shams al-Dīn too. After some time, he succeeded in obtaining the Sultan's orders for Ṭughrai's death. The ruler of Maraghah who was fully aware of the innocence of Shams al-Dīn took pity on him and released him from prison, without obtaining the Sultan's consent. He, from Maraghah went

1 It is said that there was a cave or a pit of a considerable depth in that pass and the Gurjis most of them in utter despair jumped into it and perished while the remaining ran way for their lives. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 159.

2 One version is that both Shalwah and Iwani were taken captives and when brought to the Sultan, they embraced Islam. Jalāl al-Dīn, in order to win them over gave them government of Marand, Salmas, Urmia and Ughur in Adharbaijan. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 160.

to Arbil and frcm there to Baghdad and was persent at the time of the pilgrimage at Makkah in 625/1226. On this occasion when the Sultan's official leader of the pilgrims, was also present Shams al-Dīn, placing the holy *Qur'ān* on his head addressed him (the pilgrim's leader) and all present there, "Believers as you know, Makkah is the place, holier than which there is none, today is the day better than which there is no other day, and *Qur'ān* is the book more sacred than which there is no other book. I swear by these all, that whatever Sharf al-Mulk has attributed to me, is a fabrication, pure and simple".

When the leader of the pilgrims on his return reported it to the Sultan, he repented of his hasty action, sent for Shams al-Dīn pardoned him and conferred on him once again the rule of Tabriz.[1]

The Sultan wanted to completely exterminate the Gurjis and thinking Shalwah and Iwani as his sincere supporters, consulted them on this point. They, in the heart of their hearts wanted to wreak vengeance on him and were in secret communcation with the people at Gurjistan, cordially seconded the proposal and promised to help him in the execution of his plan. The Sultan marched and encamped at Dawan, situated on the boundary of Gurjistan and sent his purveyor, Sultan Malik, to Qiz-Malik the queen of Gurjistan. He, one day was sitting on the bank of the river when there passed by him a priest who was dead-drunk. When he saw the Sultan's messenger, he abused him and said, "We are presently sending an army to the pass of Marakab. Shalwa and Iwani will persuade the Sultan to march on Gurjistan through Marakab and as he will be unaware of the presence of our army there, we will fall upon him and cut him and his men to pieces". Sultan Malik, at once saw through the plan and killing the priest, rode in hot haste and arrived at about dawn, at the Sultan's camp. When he heard of the treacherous insincerity of his deputies he flew into a rage, and to ascertain the report, sent

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 114-117.

for Shalwah and Iwani with forty nobles detained alongwith them. The Sultan, said, "You know that I want to advance on Gurjistan and being ignorant of its approaches I have sent for you to consult you on this point. There are two roads that lead to Tiflis one via Gharas and the other through the pass of Marakab. I like to know your opinion". Shalwah, thinking that the Sultan was in the dark regarding his design said," Your Majesty ! to my mind the way via the pass of Marakab, though a bit longer, is safer than that of Gharas. The latter has a stronghold on the way wherein the Gurjis have garrisoned a large number of soldiers who will certainly block our way, while through Marakab we shall approach the town uncheked and achieve our object. This made things crystal clear and the Sultan needed no other proof. He, with a sword in his hand, pounced upon Shalwah and cut him into two. The rest of his accomplices were also dealt with in a similar manner.

The Sultan thereafter summoned a war-council to further thrash the situation. Most of the military commanders pleaded in favour of following the way of Gharas ; but the Sultan advocated in favour of falling on the enemy in the pass of Marakab who were as yet ignorant of the fate of Shalwah and Iwani. The Sultan, therefore, with ten thousand soldiers proceeded to the pass where the Gurjis were lying in ambush. He arriving there asked his men to dismount, and walk on tip-toes to avoid detection. It was at early dawn that the Sultan fell on the enemy. A severe battle ensued which took a large toll of men on both sides. As the Gurjis were taken unawares, they could not stand the test for a long time and ultimately took to their heels. The Sultan from there proceeded to Luri and Ulyabad which surrendered without offering any opposition.

As the Sultan and his army needed rest he stayed there for full two months. In the beginning of *Rabī' al-Awwal*, he, with a escort went to hunting ground for a change. The Gurjis got a clue and despatched troops after troops to capture the Sultan. The Sultan, although out-numbered with heavy odds against him,

fought so herioically that they failed in their designs. Soon Jalāl al-Dīn's soldiers also, came to know of it, and rushed to the scene to help the Sultan. The Gurjis were sending their reinforcements at regular intervals, till their number swelled to ten thousand. The Sultan putting his men in battle-array attacked them so furiously that the Gurjis were forced to withdraw leaving a large number in killed. Those who took to flight were so hard pressed by the Sultan's men, that most of them in sheer despair threw themselves in the river of Kur and were drowned. People in the fort were still resisting, but after examining the situation they resolved to surrender provided they were given amnesty. Their request was granted and they were allowed to leave the fort with their belongings and settle somewhere in the country-side. During this process garrison in the fort secretly threw the royal treasury in the river. Though the Sultan was deprived of considerable wealth, yet he got rid of them for good. The Gurjis migrated leaving the whole country to the Sultan.[1]

After the fall of the fort, the Sultan went to inspect the city with an army of three thousand. The Gurjis, thinking that their number was far larger than that of the Sultan, attacked him. The Sultan who anticipated this trouble, had laid a sufficient number of people in ambush. He retraced his steps till he reached the spot where his soldiers were hiding themseleves. They jumped on the Gurjis and cut them to pieces.

Having achieved his purpose, Jalāl al-Dīn retired to Tabriz and after passing *Ramaḍān* there, marched again on Tiflis. The winter had set in and snow-fall had begun and the Sultan had to conquer one of the strongest forts of that country. Although his army suffered a lot and the Gurjis put up stiff resistance, yet the Sultan succeeded in conquerring the fort. The citizens surrendered and were given amesty. The Sultan thence proceeded to Abkhaz.[2]

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. V, p. 164

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 207-208 and Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 128.

The fall of Ganjah

Having freed himself of the expedition of Gurjistan, the Sultan returned to Tabriz and deputed Ur Khān to conquer Ganjah. He after the fall of Ganjah which did not take him long, subdued Bailaqan, Barzah, Sakobar and Shiz and finally settled at Ganjah. Sharf al-Mulk, the prime minister, on this occassion despatched one of his deputies Al-Kafi with Ur Khān to collect revenues. Al-Kafi meddled with Ur Khān's affairs which exasperated him so much that one day he unsheated his sword to kill Al-Kafi. The matter was reported to the Sultan, who, as desired by his prime minister, recalled Ur Khān. This led to an everlasting enmity between the Khān and Sharf al-Mulk.[1]

The Sultan had hardly heaved a sigh of relief, when information regarding the rebellion of Buraq Ḥājib began to pour in. This treacherous man thinking that the Sultan was at a great distance, and it would not be possible for him to do any harm revolted against Jalāl al-Din and excited the Mongols to attack the Sultan before it was too late. No sooner did the Sultan hear of the Ḥājib's intentions to march on Iraq, than he sent him a message with a robe-of-honour as an indication of his approval. Buraq, as he anticipated trouble, shut himself in. The Sultan rode in hot haste and reached there in seventeen days accompanied by only three hundred soldiers. The Ḥājib was simply amazed at the Sultan's speed and had no alternative but to surrender unconditionally. As Jalāl al-Din could not prolong his stay, on account

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1 *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 117-19. It is said that when the Sultan was engaged against the Gurjis, Sharf al-Mulk, the Sultan's deputy at Tabriz wrote that the people of Tabriz were in league with Uzbak who was at Ganjah and were inviting him to Tabriz to hand over the city to him and shut its gates against the Sultan. He, having his hands full with the Gurjis, slept over it for the time being, till he could settle with the Gurjis. On his return to Tabriz, he got hold of the ring-leader, Shams al-Din Tughrai, and killed him, the rest of the conspirators were thrown in the prison. The Sultan married the Uzbak's wife, who on hearing of it, died of agony that very day. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII. pp. 200-1. Juwyni says that Uzbak was at Alanjah, a place situated in the east of Nakhjawan. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, p. 157.

of the attack of al-Malik al-Ashraf, the ruler of Akhlat on his army, he pardoned Buraq.[1]

The Sultan, during his absence had authorised Sharf al-Mulk, to look after the state affairs. He to prove his mettle marched on Arzn al-Rūm and returned laden with rich booty.

Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī al-Muṣalī, deputy of Malik al-Ashraf, ruler of Akhlat, was lying in ambush. He attacked Sharf al-Mulk and deprived him of the loot. When the news reached the Sultan he made up his mind to punish the offenders.[2]

In the meantime, it was reported that the Gurjis were again active and taking advantage of the Sultan's absence, had ousted his deputy, molested the Muslims and burnt their houses and mosques. Jalāl al-Din set out for Gurjistan. The Sultan's nobles were at Kilkun to guard his harem and royal treasure. Ur Khān suggested that to reinforce Sharf al-Mulk they should all proceed to Tiflis and he himself accordingly with five thousand soldiers proceeded there. But he found that the rumour was baseless and the Sultan himself was encamping at Nakhjawan.[3]

On his way back, the Sultan laid a siege in *Ramḍān* 623/ August, 1226, around the fort of Ani in which Iwani, a Gurji commander had shut himself in. After its capture he proceeded to Qaras. Both the places belonged to the Gurjis and they tried their utmost to defend them. The battle lasted till the month of *Shawwāl* when both the strongholds were conquerred. Thence the Sultan went to Abkhaz and therefrom returned to Tiflis. The Sultan was keeping in view the impurdent and hostile act of 'Alī al-Mūṣalī, deputy of al-Malik al-Ashraf. As some persons in the pay of 'Alī were regularly keeping him in touch with the Sultan's programme, he hesitated to attack him. One day, suddenly he marched on to Akhlat leaving Qar Malik, Tāj al-Dīn Ḥussayn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kabud Jamah at Tiflis

1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 209 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, pp. 128-29.

2 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, pp. 164-165. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 210.

3 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 127.

to keep order. Although the Sultan's advance on Akhlat was not made public, yet the people of Akhlat came to know of it two days before his arrival there and shut themselves in.[1] He arrived at Malazkard on the 13th *Dhu al-Qa'adah* 632/6th Nov. 1226 and two days after reached Akhlat. A tough battle was fought in which thousands of the inhabitants were killed.

After a bloody struggle the Sultan's army entered the city through a small gate ; but citizens managed once again to drive them out. After a few days rest the Khwārazmians renewed their attack which again ended in a fiasco. The winter had set in and snow-fall began. Moreover, information regarding the high-handedness of the Turks of Iwaniah had reached the Sultan. The Turks taking advantage of his absence had captured Ushtar and Urmish two districts in Adharbaijan, and had robbed a trader of twenty thousand goats he had purchased from Arzan al-Rūm and was taking them to Tabriz. Being compelled by circumstances, the Sultan raised siege on the 22nd *Dhu al-Ḥijjah* and returned.[2]

The Sultan's queen at Khay also communicated to him the events taking place there and requested him to come to her help. The offenders never thought that the Sultan would, thus unceremoniously, raise the siege of Akhlat and fall on them suddenly. They were encamping in the vicinity of Tabriz, unmindful of the Sultan's approach. He reaching there encircled them from all sides and ordered a general massacre. Most of them were killed and the remainder were taken captive and made slaves. Having finished his business at Tabriz the Sultan proceeded with one hundred men to Khay to see the queen. Arriving there, he found that Ba'lk al-Sadidi, and Sanqar al-Daridar, two of the Atabak's nobles, were encamping in the vicinity of the city and waiting for a

1 Juwayni says that the Sultan's army reached the vicinity of Akhlat, they inflicted untold miseries on its inhabitants. They, anyhow, managed to turn out the Sultan's soldiers who had entered the city. The people once again shut the gates and did not allow his army to re-enter. The news of the Mongol's march on Iraq compelled the Sultan to depart.

2 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 212, Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 129

chance to attack. The Sultan's unexpected approach frightened them so much, that though their number was far larger than that of the Sultan, they could not withstand his charge and took to flight. He ordered a chase and after running a little farther they apologized and were forgiven.[1]

The Caliph's messengers at the Sultan's Court

It was in 623/1227 that the Sultan at Ganjah, was approached by a messenger of the Caliph. This man was a rare model of nobility and culture. He remained there for full one year and when he was allowed to return to Baghdad, he had twelve thousand *dīnārs* with him. The estate of Al-Jannat al-Zaidaniah situated in the vicinity of Damascus was conferred on him by the Sultan. Ḥāfiẓ Taqī al-Dīn, a learned man at the Sultan's court accompanied the Caliph's messenger to Baghdad. After their departure the presence of a Mongol army in Iraq was reported and the Sultan prepared to move to Isfahan. The Sultan was still encamping at Mianaj in the neighbourhood of Adharbaijan, when the same delegate called on him again. On Sultan's enquiry from him about the cause of his return, he replied, "Your Majesty, when you are going to wage a crusade against the infidels, and are engaged in a life-and death struggle against the Mongols, how will it become a Muslim not to stand by you". This sportive attitude was highly appreciated by the Sultan. Later on it transpired that the rumour was false and Sultan's army returning from India was mistaken for the Mongols.

The Gurjis Revolt

In 624/1227, the Sultan once again, marched on Akhlat to punish its mischievous ruler. Sharf al-Mulk, had also moved to Ganjah to pass winter there. One of the sons of the ruler of Arzan al-Rūm had become a Christian and married the queen of Gurjistan. This man on the occasion of the fall of Tabriz was presented to Jalāl al-Dīn and was given cordial reception. He

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 126

being in touch with the state of affairs at Tiflis informed his co-religionists that number of the Sultan's garrison was quite meagre and it could easily be over-powered. The Gurjis advanced on the city and the Sultans men stationed there evacuated the city. The Gurjis set the city ablaze and reduced it to a heap of ashes. When the news reached Jalāl al-Dīn, he returned from Tabriz, and while passing by Adharbaijan, on his way to Tiflis, he fell upon the Turks of Iwaniah, who were working havoc in that neighbourhood, and had robbed people of one hundred and fifty thousand cattle.[1]

A Conflict with Ismā'īlies.

Ur Khān of Nishapur, congenial and amiable, was the ruler of a part of Khurasan on behalf of the Sultan. Ismā'īlies were his next door neighbours, but since they were having no diplomatic relations with Jalāl al-Dīn, Ur Khān of and on crossed their boundary and made incursions into Bun, Qayin and Qahistan and committed atrocities. The Ismā'īlī ruler, being fed up with this state of affairs, despatched Kamāl, a messenger to the Sultan at Khay, complaining against Ur Khān. Sharf al-Mulk, in order to ascertain the facts, sent for Ur Khān and asked Kamāl to narrate the facts in his presence. As Kamāl's talk continued Ur Khan lost his temper and taking out a few daggers concealed in his sleaves, threw them before Kamāl and remarked," Are your swords sharper than these daggers." When Jalāl al-Dīn left for Ganjah three *fidā'īs* killed Ur Khān[2] and brandishing daggers in their hands set out in search of Sharf al-Mulk

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalal al-Dīn*, pp. 125-26. It is said that during the Sultan's absence even Muslim inhabitants of Tiflis were so shabily treated by his garrison that they wrote to the Gurjis in *Rabi 'al-Awwal*, 624/March, 1227 who were in the vicinity of Ani and Qaras, to re-capture the city. They fell on them, killed the Sultan's soldiers and burnt the city. Jalāl al-Dīn reached the scene, but it was too late. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 216; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V. pp. 129-30.

2 When the Sultan learnt of his deputy's murder, he attacked them and ransacked the whole country from Alamut down to Kurdkuh. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 217.

to murder him too. Since he was not in his office he escaped this unhappy end. The people thereupon rushed on them and stoned them to death. Just a few days after this incident, 'Alā al-Dīn, ruler of Alamut[1] deputed Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad as his delegate to the Sultan's court and informed Sharf al-Mulk also about it. He being afraid of the *fidā'ī's* inhuman activities, received him with open arms. The *fidā'is* being emboldened by the murder of Ur Khān and timidity of Sharf al-Mulk, took possession of Dāmghān. After a long correspondence it was decided, that Dāmghān would remain with the *fidā'īs*, who in return would pay thirty thousand *dīnārs* as annual tribute to the Sultan.

Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad was still staying with Sharf al-Mulk. One day, when not sober, he disclosed that a number of *fidā'īs* in the secret service of 'Alā al-Dīn of Alamut were employed at his court. Sharf al-Mulk asked him to send for them in his presence. Immediately five of them were produced. One belonged to India. He revealed that one day he had a good opportunity to kill him but he spared him as he was awaiting instructions from Alamut. Sharf al-Mulk was so confounded, that he wept in the presence of the *fidā'īs* saying" I do not know as to why 'Alā al-Dīn is against me. I am as loyal to him as to the Sultan. If you want to kill me, here I am before you, do as you like."

When Jalāl al-Dīn heard of his behaviour he felt so much offended that he ordered that all the five *fidā'īs* should be burnt in front of Sharf al-Mulk's tent.

In the meantime the Sultan learnt that a Mongol army had entered Iraq. Leaving Sharf al-Mulk at Adharbiājān he proceeded

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1 Alamut: To the north-west of Qazwin, on the summit of the mountains which divide the district from that of Rudbar stood the famous castle of the Assassians Alamut was the capital. The word means the eagle's nest in Tabristani dialect. It was built by a Daylamite king whose eagle once perched on the crag. It was surrounded by deep and wide ravines that made it impregnable. In 483/1090 it was possessed by Ḥasan b. Sabbāḥ and for 171 years it served as their stronghold. It was taken by Hulāgū Khān in 654/1256 and was razed to the ground. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 220-221.

thither to check the Mongol's advance. The news of the death of his followers annoyed 'Alā al-Dīn of Alamut so much that he put up a demand of ten thousand *dīnārs* for each of his followers. Since the Sultan's prime-minister could not resist the *fidā'is* he agreed to it and allowed 'Ala al-Dīn to deduct ten thousand *dīnārs* annually out of the tribute due from him in respect of Dāmghān.[1]

The Sultan fights the Mongols

The Sultan was at Tabriz when he heard that an army of the Mongols crossing the Oxus had entered Iraq. He arriving at Isfahān[2] learnt that the Mongols were encamping at Sain at one day's distance from there. The Sultan's deputies and functionaries were nervous at the presence of the Mongols in that neighbourhood and leaving their headquarters assembled around him. But Jalāl al-Dīn in order to encourage his men showed absolutely no signs of anxiety and, taking an oath of allegiance from them, made up his mind to fight.

The Sultan's astrologers advised him to avoid fighting at least for three days. Since the Mongols presumed that Jalāl al-Dīn, would not take initiative to attack them, they feeling themselve safe, deputed two thousand men to proceed to Lur to procure provisions. The Sultan being in touch with their movements despatched three thousand men in their pursuit who killed most of them and captured about four hundred. They were put to the

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 132-139.

2 Juwayni says that the people of Isfahan were so much afraid of the Mongols, that they resolved to invite them to take possession of the town. It was through the sincere efforts of Rukn al-Dīn, Chief Justice, that they could be dissuaded from taking this fatal step. They were asked to wait for the Sultan's arrival for a week and it was a happy coincidence that he returned in time. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol II, p. 503

Ibn al-Athīr says that as the Mongols were already defeated by Jalāl al Dīn (the author did not name as to which of the previous battles he meant), the Mongol commander directed an army to attack Khurāsān. They marched to Rayy and met the Sultan twice, the struggle ended in his defeat. The battle of Isfahan was his third attempt. Vol. XII, p. 220

sword and their bodies were hung on gallows in public places.

After three day's rest at Isfahan, the Sultan decided to engage the Mongols. Just when the battle was to start, Ghiyāth, who was on the Sultan's right, asked his army to make off. Although, this eleventh hour's desertion weakened him, yet in view of the serious nature of the crisis which the Sultan had to face, he remained unaffected and ordered a charge. A severe battle started in which the right wing of the Sultan's army, pushed back the left wing of the Mongols, which resulted in the utter rout of the latter. It was about sun-set and the Sultan standing on a hillock was enjoying the sight of their pursuit by his soldiers. Some of his nobles, being encouraged by an easy victory, suggested that the chase should not be abondoned till the Mongols were killed to a man. Though the Sultan was not in favour of this suggestion, yet to please his nobles he ordered his men not to give up pursuit. The Mongols going a bit farther, laid an ambush and jumped on their pursuers when within reach. The tables were turned and the Sultan's nobles were cut to pieces.

Jalāl al-Dīn with four hundred warriors was also encircled. But like a furious lion he attacked and killed them. The Mongols, were tightening their cordon around the Sultan and his captivity was in sight. All of a sudden, he rushed on them and as soon as they staggered, he spurred his horse jumped out of the cordon and in the twinkling of an eye disappeared in the darkness of the night and made for Luristan with a handful of soldiers. The army was left without a leader. Some of them went to Fars and Kirman and some to Adharbaijan, and nobody knew about the Sultan's whereabouts. Notwithstsnding the fact that the battle had ended in favour of the Mongols and Jalāl al-Dīn had left for an unknown destination, the Sultan's men continued the pursuit of the Mongols and except those who crossed the Oxus all others were caught and put to the sword. The battle was fought on the 22nd of *Ramaḍān*, 624/16th Sept, 1227, and since then nothing was heard of the Sultan's whereabouts and the rumour of his death was current abroad. As people of Isfahan were affected most, they were extremely wor-

ried. On the *'Id* day, when they were out in *'Idgāh* to say prayers, they saw a troop of horsemen galloping at full speed. Their joy knew no bounds, when to their utter astonishment they found that it was the Sultan with a troop of his loyal soldiers.[1]

The cause of the desertion of Ghiyāth al-Dīn

Ḥasan b. Kharmil was a noble at the Ghurid court. When the Ghurid kingdom was annexed by the late Khwārazmshāh to his empire, Ḥasan approached Sultan Muḥammad and obtained the control of Herat. After some time, finding that the Sultan was busy with the Mongols, Ḥasan threw away the yoke of dependency and severed cnnnections with the house of his benefactor. Jalāl al-Dīn instructed Niẓām al-Mulk Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saliḥ Qulī Khān, ruler of Khurasan, Qiwān al-Dīn, ruler of Kirman, and 'Izz al-Dīn Jaldak, ruler of Nishāpur, to lay a siege around Herat and reduce the rebel to submission. After three months' encirclement, Ḥasan repented and made a request to Niẓām al-Mulk to raise the siege. The gates were opened and as Qulī Khān was feeling highly offeneded he killed Ḥasan. When the news of Ḥasan's un-

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1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp., 137-140; Juwayni adds that since this defeat was mostly due to the negligence of Jalāl al-Dīn's nobles, he on his arrival at Isfahan degraded them all and humiliated them in the eyes of the beholders. A veil was put on their faces, and on donkeys' backs they were paraded through the city. On the contrary those who had abided by the Sultan through this trial were honoured and raised to the higher ranks (*Jahan Gusha*, Vol. II, pp. 169-172.) Ibn al-Athīr (Vol. XII, p. 220) says that when Ghiyāth al-Dīn deserted at the most critical moment, the Mongols not knowing the real cause of his desertion thought that they would attack them at the rear and thus encircle them. Feeling panicky, they took to their heels. As the Sultan was also not aware of their retreat, he took it to be a ruse and refrained from giving them a chase. As Ghiyāth's desertion had considerably weakened his position, Jalāl al-Dīn, instead of going to Isfahan where he feared an attack by the Mongols, went to Samidam. When the Mongols noticed that they were not being pursued, they retraced their steps and besieged Isfahan. The Sultan soon arrived there for their rescue. A severe battle was fought which ended in the defeat of the Mongols.

happy end reached his minister Al-Sāḥib, he, having reasons to doubt the intentions of the Sultan's agents, closed once again the gates of the city and declared a state of siege. Eight months passed away and the besiegers despite their best efforts could not force their way in. The matter was reported to the Sultan with the request that he himself should grace the occasion witn his presence. The Sultan at the head of a large army arrived on the spot and the city was conqured after three days and Al-Sāḥib was put to death.

Ḥasan's son Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad was in India with Qubāchah. Having heard of his father's death, he left India and joined the Sultan's service. Since he was a man of pleasant and cheerful disposition, he soon won the Sultan's favour who appointed him commissioner of police at Isfahan and bestowed an estate on him to defray his expenses.

When the Sultan was encamping at Isfahan, to fight against the Mongols, some of Ghiyāth's men deserting him joined Nuṣrat al-Dīn. One day in the Sultan's presence, when wine was being served and both Ḥasan and Ghiyath were present, Ghiyāth addressing Muḥammad said, "Some of my men have taken service with you without my permission; will you send them back to me"? Nuṣrat al-Din who was in a sportive mood retorted, "Your servants generally stick to those person who pay them handsomely and desert those who do not". Ghiyāth al-Dīn felt so annoyed that he writhed with rage. The Sultan to take sting out of his retort said, "Muḥammad, it appears, you are not feeling well. Go and take rest". He left and Ghiyāth followed him. He entered his house and closed it from within. Ghiyāth who had followed him knocked at his door, but it was not opened. At last he scaled the wall and entering Muḥammad's house killed him. When the Sultan heard of Ghiyāth's high handedness, he felt highly offended and resented his brother's wayward action. Ghiyāth al-Dīn was so afraid of Jalāl al-Dīn, that he anxiously awaited a suitable opportunity to run away.

However,[1] when the two armies confronted, each other Ghiyāth was certain that the Sultan was not in a position to block his way, he deserted him along with his army and went to 'Alā al-Dīn, ruler of Alamut. When the battle ended and Ghiyāth heard of the Sultan's presence in that vicinity, he apologized to Jalāl al-Dīn through 'Alā al-Dīn, his host, and promised to be more careful in future. The Sultan forgave him and deputed Ya'qūb al-Khwārazmi and Jamāl al-Dīn to go to Alamut and bring Ghiyāth back. On their arrival at Alamut Ghiyāth repented and as he feared foulplay at the court of his brother, he requested 'Alā al-Dīn to give him a troop of soldiers to meet any emergency. Four hundred soldiers were ordered to accompany him. Ghiyāth on his way back home was attacked by the Mongols who laid an ambush and his men were dispersed. Had it not been for the timely help of Jahān Pahlwān Ghiyāth al-Dīn would have been killed then and there. Ghiyāth instead of going to his brother's court, went to Iraq, and there put up with Buraq. Although, he in the days of 'Alā al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, had acted as deputy on Ghiyāth's behalf in the territory assigned to him by the late Sultan, yet Buraq quite shamefacedly forcibly married Ghiyāth's mother and put her to death when she resented it. The same fate however awaited Ghiyāth, for Buraq administered poison to him when he reached there.[2]

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1 Ibn al-Athir (Vol. XII, p. 220) says Ghiyāth, for reasons known to him, thought himself unsafe and deserted his brother with a number of his nobles when the Sultan was busy with the Mongols and went to Khuzistān. The Caliph's deputy fearing foulplay did not allow him to stay there. Ghiyāth thence went to Alamut and took shelter with 'Alā al-Dīn. When the Sultan disengaged himself from the Mongols, he moved to Alamut and arriving in that vicinity asked Alā al-Dīn to hand over Ghiyāth al-Dīn to him. He said that since he had granted him protection, it would be improper to break the vow. Alā al-Dīn however stood surety for his good behaviour and saved his life. Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, pp. 130-131.

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalal al-Dīn*, pp. 140-145

The Sultan reconqures Gurjtstan[1]

As the Sultan's hands had been full with the Mongols he had not been in a position to punish the Gurjis who had lately revolted against the Sultan's authority. Having disposed of the Mongols, he in 625/1228 marched once again on Gurjistan. Reaching its vicinity he learnt that all the neighbouring chiefs such as those of Rūm, Syria, Armenia, Alans, Lakzis, Sarir and Qipchāqis, being afraid of the Sultan's rising star had joined hands with the Gurjis and were mustering forces to crush him once and for all. The Sultan who was encamping at Mandur summoned his war council to discuss the situation. Sharf al-Mulk Yaldarji, prime minister, submitted, "Since the number of enemy is hundred times larger than that of ours and our men are posted on military duties at far off places, it will be in our interest to avoid tussle at present and await the return of our men till the next spring. Moreover let us completely blockade their provisions as to reduce them and their horses to skeletons. I am sure in this way we will be able to achieve our object". The Sultan felt so much offended at this suggestion that he lost temper, and picking the inkpot, that he had before him, hit the prime minister on the head, and remarked, "Do you frighten me of these sheep"? Can a lion be ever afraid of goats however large their number may be". The poor mininster was turned out of the Sultan's presence. Sharf al-Mulk repented of his unwise counsel and offered fifty thousand *dinārs* to the Sultan to placate him. Recruitment began and in a short while, the Sultan could raise a considerable army to meet his foe. When both the armies came face to face, Jalāl al-Dīn to have a cursory view of the situation went up a mound. He, to his utter disappointment, noticed that twenty thousand Qipchāqis were also marshalled

1 This expedition is not mentioned by the author of *al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, a book written by Jalāl al-Dīn's own scribe. Similarly Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn are silent about it. It appears that Juwaynī based this fact on hearsay; otherwise there is no tangible reason to believe that others did not know such a commendable military feat of the Sultan.

against him. The Sultan sent for Qashqar and placing a salt on a piece of bread asked him to take it to the commander of Qipchaqis and tell him "Is this the reward of favours shown to you during the life-time of my father? On many occasions I got you out of his clutches, and saved you from complete annihilation. I never thought that I will be paid in this way".

This had its effect. The Qapcha Khān asked his men not to partake in the conflict. Iwani, a Gurjis noble, was the supreme commander. The Sultan made a suggesion to him, "As your forces have just arrived and may be feeling tired, it will be in the fitness of things, if you approve to arrange for duel matches today. I hope, that the proposal will be appreciated by both the combatant armies." Iwani who failed to see through the Sultan's plan presently agreed to the suggestion. The Sultan disguising himself as a common soldier marched out for a duel against a Gurjis who was waiting for an opponent. Hardly one or two blows were exchanged, when the Gurji gave way and was killed. He had three sons, who one after another went to avenge their father, but met the same fate. This created a sense of uneasiness in the rank and file of the enemy and for some time none stepped out and there was dead silence. After all a warrior marched out to meet the Sultan. The Sultan's horse at this stage was exhausted. The Gurji badly cornered the Ṣultan. But he was also on the look out for his chance. Luckily, it came and the Sultan taking a step or two forward jumped down from his horse and stabbed the man. His men pounced upon the enemy like furious lions and put them to flight. Thousands laid their lives on the battle field.[1]

After the fall of Gurjistan, the Sultan again went to Iraq in order to set right Buraq Ḥājib, who taking advantage of the Sultan's engagement at Tiflis had gone astray. However, when the Sultan arrived, Buraq apologized and was forgiven.[2]

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1 *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. II, pp. 171-173.

2 *Al-Sirat li al-Jalāl Dīn*, pp. 123r124; *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, p. 74.

CHAPTER V

END OF JALAL AL-DĪN KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

A mission to Baghdad

During the reign of the late Khwārazmshāh, when political relations with the Caliph were strained, a learned men at the Khwārazmshāhs court, named Sarāj al-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb al-Sakkaki of Khwārazm, made an effigy and handed it over to *qāḍī* Mujir al-Dīn to take it to Baghdad and bury it there. It was said that magic would destroy the Caliph of Baghdad. But when the late-Sultan Muḥammad suffered defeats at the hands of the Mongols, people thought, that it was all due to that magic which was working against the Sultan himself. That fear was still lurking in the sub-conscience of people and misfortunes were still being attributed to that magic. It was after all resolved that the learned *qāḍī* should go once again to Baghdad and bring the effigy back. Although the *qāḍī* tried to have an access to that house, he could not, and the mission failed.[1]

A rising in Adhharbaijan

When the Sultan with Sharf al-Mulk was going to Iraq, he arriving in the vicinity of Hamadan learnt, that salves of the late-Uzbak were on the verge of rising against him to install Malik Khāmush,[2] the only son of Uzbak in his father's seat. Jalāl al-Dīn asked his chief minister to proceed to Adhharbaijan to control the situation there. Sharf al-Mulk arriving at Maraghah was

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 123. 124; *Jahān Gusha*, Vol. I. p. 74

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 150-151.

told that a large number of mischief-mongers had joined hands with the Uzbak's[1] slave and were encamping outside Tabriz to attack it. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Tabriz which ended in the complete rout of the insurgents. The ringleaders were captured and put to death.

Having done this, Sharf al-Mulk began to conquer those parts of Adhharbaijan which were still beyond the pales of the Sultan's influence and succeeded in reducing Dizmar, Kahram, Hazal and Juryazd. The widow of Malik Khāmūsh was putting up in Roin Diz which she agreed to surrender to Sharf al-Mulk on the condition, that he should marry her; but Sharf al-Mulk refused to do so. Meanwhile the Sultan arrived there and promised to marry her himself a promise which he could not fulfil.[2]

After[3] the death of Uzbak, his wife had (as already mentioned) married the Sultan and he as a mark of appreciation conferred the estate of Khay on her and allowed her to settle there. Soon afterwards the rule of Salmas and Ormish was also bestowed on her with Sharf al-Mulk as her advisor. But Sharf al-Mulk because of his unbridled ambition, wanted to lead her by the nose. She resented his interference and relations were badly strained. He to take revenge poisoned the Sultan's ears against her by questioning the queen's fidelity. He accused her that during the last insurrection her sympathies were with the insurgents and she wanted

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1 Uzbak had only one son, dumb and deaf. After the expedition at Khalat when the Sultan returned to Ganjah, Malik Khāmush was granted an audience. He presented to him a belt set with precious jewels. He for some time remained at the Sultan's court and later on left for 'Alā al-Dīn, ruler of Alamūt. *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp; 12-130

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 156-157.

3 Ibn al-Athīr says that virtually the queen herself was the ruler of Adharbaijan even during the life-time of Uzbak. When she married the Sultan, there was a clash of interests which she, could not tolerate. She after consulting people of Khay invited 'Alī, to take possession of the place. He annexed Khay as well as Marand and Nakhjawān and carried her to Akhlat. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 217.

to re-establish the Uzbak's rule in Tabriz. In order to further worsen their relations, he played the double role and poisoned the queen also against Jalāl al-Dīn. At last he made himself so obnoxious to her that she revolted and shut herself in the fort of Tila, one of the strongest citadles in that land. Sharf al-Mulk went to Khay and confiscated the queen's property. Though she tried to dissuade him from taking that step, he turned a deaf ear to her requests and demanded her unconditional surrender. When she realized that he was not going to spare her. she requested Ḥājib 'Alī, deputy of Malik al-Ashraf at Akhlat for help. Sharf al-Mulk was encamping in the meadow of Salmas, when Ḥājib 'Alī advanced on Khay and having got possession of the queen's property took her to Akhlat.

On this occasion, Sharf al-Mulk was approached by one 'Imād al-Dīn a, delegate deputed by Kayqubād b. Kayka'ūs, ruler of Rūm, to assure the Sultan of his good wishes. He appreciated Jalāl al-Dīn's servi. es as a true believer and promised to come to his help whenever desired. As the Sultan was in dire need of money, he asked Kayqubād for the same which was duly complied with.[1]

Meanwhile the minister asked his men to collect revenue. It was a misfortune that his tax collectors were awful people and were abhorred like dead poison. One of his functionaries working among Turkmāns was an extremely nasty fellow who compelled people to entertain him and spend lavishly. Since, this state of affairs could not be tolerated, they made his stay there impossible. He returned and complained of the disgraceful treatment meted out to him by the Turkmāns. Sharf al-Mulk short-tempered as he was, marched against them collected thirty thousand cattle and brought them at Baylaqan. He, earmarked four thousand for himself, distributed some among his soldiers, sold some and returned the remaining lot to the poor owners. Thence he went to Mūqān and

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 155-156.

asked Shirwanshāh for the payment of annual tribute[1] that was due from him. Shīrwanshāh, knew of Sharf al-Mulk's extravagances and hesitated in making payment. It enraged the prime minister so much, that he despatched four thousand soldiers to ravage his country. But as Shirwanshāh put up a bold front, Sharf al-Mulk's men returned without exchanging even a single blow.

After this Sharf al-Mulk marched to Adharbaijan. A Turkish lad was adopted by the queen of Khay as son. The thankless boy crossed floors and went over to Sharf al-Mulk in the false hope, that one day he would get the queen's estate in Nakhjawan, transferred to his name. In compliance with this boy's request Sharf al-Mulk's army had advanced on Nakhjawan, but could achieve nothing. The queen resented the attack and protested against his uncalled for action, when she had been regular in paying annual tribute. Sharf al-Mulk thence moved to Shamiran, and encamped at the outskirts of village of Hawash His soldiers entering it committed rape, and the villagers murdered one of them. When he heard of this he made up his mind to punish the villagers. They were at his sweet mercy. Though they appealed to his fair sense, and moved him to forget and forgive, yet to no avail. By chance, there appeared on the scene, Ḥajib of *al-Malik al-Ashraf* at the head of his army which compelled Sharf al-Mulk to run for his life.[2]

Meanwhile, the minister was informed by Jalāl al-Dīn that in a caravan of Ismā'ilies a Mongol messenger was carrying a message

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1 Ibn Khaldūn says that fifty thousand *dīnārs* were due from him. During the reign of Malik Shāh Saljuqid, the province of Arran was under a chief called Shirwanshāh Farīdūn b. Fariburz. When it passed on to Saljuqids, the ruler promised to pay one hundred thousand *dīnārs* as annual tribute. Later on when the Sultan annexed it, the Shīrwanshāh in view of the fact that some districts were reduced to ruins, promised to pay half of the above amount At a later date the Sultan passed by Arran, and Shīrwanshāh offered him five hundred Turkish horses. It pleased him so much that he reduced tribute by twenty thousand a year. *Tārīkh*, Vol. II, pp. 135. 137.

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalal al-Dīn*,, pp. 160-162.

to 'Alā al-Dīn, of Alamūt. The messenger should be traced out and sent to him. Sharf al-Mulk, came across the caravan, killed the messenger and the Ismā'īlies who were thirty six and confiscated their property. When the Sultan returned to Adharbaijan he was approached by Asad al-Din Mawdūd on behalf of 'Alā al-Dīn of Alamūt. He complained against the highhandedness of the minister and asked for the return of the property confiscated and the payment of blood-money of the innocent people. The Sultan shuddered at this hienous act and deputed 'Alī Tutaq b Inanaj Khān to recover the property confiscated. He, could with great difficulty, recover only thirty thousand *dinārs* and ten Arabian horses. The rest could not be traced out. Similarly no blood-money was paid for the killed.[1]

'Izz al-Dīn Balban al-Khali.

During the days when the Sultan was engaged in a life and death struggle against the Mongols in the neighbourhood of Isfahan, one of the late Atabak's slaves, 'Izz al-Dīn Balban, had turned rebel and having gathered a handful of mischief-mongers was plundering the caravans passing between Iraq and Adhharbaijan and the complaints of his high-handedness were multiplying every day. But as the Sultan had his hands already full, he could not pay attention to him. After the battle of Isfahan, when the Sultan proceeded to Adharbaijan to deal with Ḥājib 'Alī, he laid a siege around the fort of Firuzābād where 'Izz al-Dīn had taken refuge. But the rebel was so afraid that he threw himself at the mercy of the Sultan with a sword and a shroud in his hand. The Sultan took pity on him and pardoned him. Jalāl al-Din from there marched to Tughtab where Ḥājib 'Alī was encamping. Balban was in the Sultan's retinue. Reaching there he deserted the Sultan at night, went to Khalat and renewed[2] his activities in the

1 *Sīrat li-Jalāl-al-Dīn*, pp. 214-215.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, says that he went over to Ḥajib 'Alī who deputed him to create mischief in the vicinity of Adharbaijan. *Tārīkh*, Vol. V. pp. 135-137 *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 167-69.

vicinity of Zanjan. Later on when Ahmad al-Nasawi the Sultan's scribe was sent on a deputation to 'Alā al-Dīn, ruler of Alamūt, to settle the dispute regarding the annual tribute, the Sultan addressed a letter to Balban that he was assigned an estate in the neighbourhood of Iraq. He gladly accepted the invitation and arrived at Isfahan to pay homage to the Sultan. He thereupon ordered Sharf al-Dīn, ruler of Iraq, to put an end to him and his unworthy followers.[1]

The Sultan in Adhharbaijan

When the Sultan set out from Muqan for Adharbaijan, he passed through Khay and stayed there for a month. There he came to know about the atrocities of his undesirable minister and circumstances that compelled the queen to run away with Ḥājib 'Alī. The Sultan thence went to Tabriz and to his utter disappointment, found the whole city in ruins. The citizens reported that disgraceful treatment of his prime minister was the root-cause of the whole trouble. Sharf al-Mulk in those days was away and people could say against him whatever they liked. Jalāl al-Dīn was shocked at the misfortune of poor inhabitants and in order to persuade them to return to their native place, he remitted taxes for the next three years.

The Sultan was putting up at Tabriz when he was approached by Najam al-Dīn Rāzi and Rukn al-Dīn b. 'Attāf on behalf of the Caliph al-Ẓahir bi-Amr-Allāh with the message that al-Nāṣir bi-Amr-Allāh had passed away and the former took his place as Caliph and that political relations thenceforth would be friendly. The Sultan despatched Qāḍī Mujir al-Dīn to the Caliph with a robe-of-honour and a message of good-will. But the Caliph died before his arrival and the messenger consequently returned.

The Fall of Luri

When the Sultan on his return from Adharbaijan was encamping at Muqan, one of his commander, named Kak Khān marched

1 *Al-Sirat li--Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 216-17.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 169-71.

on Luri without his permission and ravaged it. At night, some of these soldiers slept on the eastern bank of Yatakh, a lake in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, and some of them on the western bank. The Gurjis made a night-attack on those who were sleeping on the western bank, and after killing most of them, captured the remainder and made away with them. The matter was reported to the Sultan along with the news, that the Queen and Iwani had signed a pact against him and they were having an army of forty thousand strong consisting of Lakz, Alans and Swans. The Sultan at once, ordered a march and both the armies met in the vicinity of Tatakh. A battle was fought which ended in the rout of the Gurjis. Jalāl al-Din proceeded thence to Luri in order to reduce it. At this inhabitants set the Sultan's men free and surrendered unconditionally.[1]

The Fall of the fortress of Bahram

During the days Jalāl al-Dīn was in Iraq one of the Gurji commanders, named Bahrām, taking advantage of his engagement had been harrying the neighbourhood of Ganjah and working havoc there. The Sultan attacked him and in a short while conquerred the forts of Shikān, 'Ulyābād, Kāk, and Kawārin. At last Bahrām was so hard pressed that he surrendered on the payment of a heavy fine.

Jalāl al-Dīn thence moved to Nakhjawan to have a few day's rest and make preparations for besieging Khalat.[2]

The siege of Khalat

When Al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, ruler of Akhlat, heard of the Sultan's presence at Nakhjawan and learnt of his determination to attack Akhlat, he in order to avoid the consequences of the prospective battle that was looming large on the horizon, threw a hint to his governor 'Izz al-Dīn to enter into negotiations with

1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 169-71. Ibn Khaldūn says that name of the commander was Ilak Khān, *Tarikh*, Vol. V, p. 137.

2 *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 176-77.

Jalāl al-Dīn and try to deter him from attacking them. 'Izz al-Dīn sent a messenger to the Sultan's court that neither he nor his master Al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā had any hand in the misdeed of Ḥājib 'Alī and they, in order to prove their bonafides, had taken 'Alī under custody, and were ready to pass him on to the Sultan. As the incident had occurred with the practical help of them both or with their connivance, the Sultan refused to listen to his plea. On the return of the delegation, the Ḥājib was put to death. The Sultan laid a siege around Akhlat[1], in order to vindicate his honour.

Some important events

When Shirwānshāh Farīdūn was honoured by the Sultan for his loyal services during the revolt of Adharbaijan, Isfebad Nuṣrat al-Dīn, ruler of Al-Jabal, the brother-in-law of Utar Khān, also presented himself to the Sultan to be honoured likewise. But Utar Khān, out of jealousy, sent in a wrong report against the Isfebad and the Sultan, doubting his integrity put him behind the bars. Later on when Jalāl al-Dīn was busy with the siege of Akhlat Isfebad requested the Sultan to depute some of his reliable courtiers so as to see him in the prison.

The Sultan deputed Aḥmad al-Nasawi, his royal scribe to go to him. Isfebad disclosed that Utar Khān got a considerable amount of money from him in the name of the Sultan which was not passed on to him and it was wrong that he was disloyal to the Sultan or that he said anything against him. When Aḥmad reported the matter to Jalāl al-Dīn, he took pity on him and set him free.

One of the Sultan's step-sisters named Khān Sultan was taken captive alongwith Turkān-i-Khatūn at the time when the late Sul tan Muḥammad had taken refuge in the Caspian Sea, and she was married to Dūshi Khān, a near relative of Chingīz. She sent a

1 Ibn Khaldūn says that the Sultan demanded that 'Alī should be handed over to him. This was not complied with, but the Ḥajib was executed.

The siege was laid in *Shāwwāl* 626/1229 and Rukn al-Dīn, the ruler of Arḍ-i-Rūm helped the Sultan a lot in this expedition. *Tarikh*, Vol. V, Pp. 135-138. Abū al-Fidā says that it happened in 627/1230. *Tarīkh*, Vol. III, p. 146.

message to her brother, that her husband had been extremely pleased with his adventures and gallantry and was quite willing to part in his favour with the country lying on the eastern bank of the Oxus. If he approved the plan, she on hearing from him would help him as she exercised a lot of influence on her husband. But if he was in a position to avenge his father, he need not condescent to beg this favour. Khān Sultan was so much appreciated by her husband, that he had allowed her to teach the *Qur'ān* to his children born of her and bring them up in accordance with the Islamic traditions. Since the Sultan at this important juncture was busy with the siege of Akhlat, he under the heat of the moment could not think of the pros and cons of the matter, and a golden opportunity slipped off his hands.

Rukn al-Din Jahānshāh b. Ṭughral, ruler of Arzan al-Rūm was an ally of Al-Malik al-Ashraf who was hostile to the Sultan. When Rukn al-Din noticed that the Sultan was making a place in history and coming out victorious wherever he fought, he severed his relations with his former ally. Sharf al-Dīn, a physician at Rukn al-Din's court, was sent to the Sultan to arrange for alliance. Jalāl al-Dīn received him with open arms and sent a message of goodwill to Rukn al-Dīn. On the return of his messenger, Rukn al-Din set out to pay homage to him and strengthen their relations. The Sultan at the time of the arrival of Rukn al-Dīn was in the battle field under his royal umbrella. Jalāl al-Dīn received him cordially and embracing him gave him a place under the umbrella on his right hand. After a few day's stay Rukn al-Din returned and the Sultan honoured him with the bestowal of a precious robe-of-honour. Since Jalāl al-Dīn had been besieging Khalat and he badly needed all sorts of material to reduce the city, Rukn al-Dīn supplied him with a big catapult, a large number of arrows and a sufficient quantity of victuals.

A delegation from the Caliph of Baghdad waited upon the Sultan, with the request that Badr al-Dīn ruler of Musal, Muẓaffar al-Din, ruler of Arbil, Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaymānshāh, chief of al-Būwayh and 'Imād al-Dīn Pahlwān, chief of Hazār-asp should

henceforth be considered directly under the Caliphate and the *khuṭbah* in the name of the present Caliph be re-introduced by the Sultan at least in those provinces where it was read during the reign of the late Sultan Muḥammad. The Sultan agreed to the proposal and sent his own Ḥājib Badr al-Dīn Tūtaq b. Inanaj Khān to Baghdad to ratify the pact already arrived at. The Sultan's delegate was cordially received at the Caliph's court. Three robes-of-honour were sent in the company of a special delegation by the Caliph, and as it was the custom of the time, the robes were to be put on, by the Sultan and his courtiers in the presence of all the nobles, and since the Caliph still exercised great influence upon the Muslims, it was a unique honour conferred on Jalāl al-Dīn by the Commander of the Faithful. The siege of Khalat at this time had reached the most critical[1] stage, and the defenders tired of the

1 Juwayni says that the Sultan, reaching the vicinity of Akhlat, sent a message to Al-Malik al-Ashraf, governor of the place, to surrender but since the people were fully convinced of the invincibility of the city, the inhabitants unanimously decided to oppose the Sultan tooth and nail. The siege was laid. Jalāl al-Dīn ordered to fix up catapults around the city and hurled stones on citizens. The inhabitants also paid them in the same coin. The siege lasted for full ten months till famine raged in the city. The victuals were exhausted and the poor people were reduced to sorry straits so much so that they had to eat cats and dogs The messengers of the Caliph of Baghdad and the ruler of Rūm and Syria had been, waiting upon the Sultan requesting him to raise the siege and grant people amnesty. The Sultan, of course, was quite willing to comply, but there were some bad-characters in the city who often appearing on the parapets abused the Sultan and his soldiers. The imprudent act was the root-cause of the whole trouble. After all the city fell and the soldiers pounced upon the citizens and put most of them to the sword.

'Izz al-Dīn Aybak and Mujir al-Dīn, the brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf, with a handful of soldiers shut themselves in a fort in the city to save themselves. But they soon realized its uselessness and Mujir al-Dīn approached the Sultan and was forgiven. He recommended the case of 'Izz al-Dīn to Jalāl al-Dīn but he was reprimanded by the Sultan By the same evening, 'Izz al-Dīn came out of the fort with a troop of soldiers wearing armours under their shirts and concealing daggers in their sleeves. with the intention to rush on the Sultan and kill him. They were suspected, while entering the Sultan's court by the gate-keepers and were accordingly put under arrest. *Jahān Gushā*, pp. 174-75; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p, 160.

state of affairs, had been praying for the intercession of the neighbouring Muslim rulers to induce the Sultan to raise the siege. On this occasion when the Sultan and his nobles were honoured by wearing the robes of honour, the Caliphs delegates requested the Sultan to raise the siege and take pity on the poor inhabitants. As the fall of the city was imminent, the Sultan paid no attention to their intercession and the siege continued. The people owing to the extreme scarcity of the victuals were in terrible straits. On one single occassion twenty thousand inhabitants who were on the verge of starvation, came out of the city in search of food. Although suitable arrangements were made by Sharf al-Mulk to feed them, yet most of them could not survive and passed away.

The late Sultan Muḥammad was buried as already stated in an island on the Caspian Sea. Jalāl al-Dīn deputed Muqarrib al-Din one of his reliable nobles to proceed there and bring back the remains of his father to Isfahan and bury him there. Instructions to the authorities at Isfahan were issued to help Muqarrib al-Dīn to do the needful. His body was brought there and buried at Isfahan. A college to enliven his memory was also built nearby. When later on Jalāl al-Dīn was defeated by the Mongols the late Sultan's dead body was once again unearthed and burnt to ashes.

During the siege of Khalat, Mujir al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, appeared, one day on the parapet and addressing the Sultan, said: "Thousands of innocent people are dying daily due to the fuss created by you. If you approve let us fight a duel and decide the issue " "When", enquired, Jalāl al-Dīn "Tomorrow morning," answered he. The next day despite the fact that the Sultan's nobles tried to dissuade him from fighting a man who was not of his status, Jalāl al-Dīn refused to listen to it and reached the spot in time. Mujir al-Dīn dared not put in an appearance and asked his soldiers to insult the Sultan and abuse him.

One night there visited the Sultan an old woman of Akhlat, pretending that she was sent to him by Zakī 'Ajami, the royal

scribe of Al-Malik al-Ashraf, with a message that if he might pay him five thousand *dinārs* through the old woman, he could manage to induce the soldiers of Al-Malik al-Āshraf to open the gates of the city. Ahmad al-Nasawi, the Sultan's scribe was there at that time. He disbelieved the old woman's statement on the ground that the price demanded was not in commensuration with the stakes. Anyhow the Sultan agreed to pay her one thousand *dinārs* in advance and promised to pay her the balance in case the gates were opened. After the fall the old woman was traced out and the sum recovered was less three hundred which she had meanwhile spent.

By chance a letter of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak to Al-Malik al-Ashraf was intercepted. It contained that generally the snowfall in the previous years started earlier and this time it was due to the magic of Jalāl al-Dīn that it had not begun as yet. Fortunately the reply of Al-Malik al-Ashraf was also intercepted. The contents were that it was nature and not Jalāl al-Dīn who was responsible for the delay. Let not these whims mislead 'Izz al-Dīn and his men.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Jawaini, (senior) the ablest minister of the Sultan called Sāḥib al-Dīwān who was holding this office since the days of the late Sultan Muḥammad, passed away these days. He was held in great esteem by the Sultan.

Jalāl al-Dīn was busy with the siege of Akhlat, when authorities arrested a minister of 'Alā al-Din of Alamūt in the hills of Qazwin where he had gone to collect *ḥashīsh* (hemp). He was sent to the Sultan, who imprisoned him in the fort of Dizmar and put him to death, after four months.

It was on this occasion that Shams al-Dīn Altūn and Kamāl al-Dīn Kamiaz b. Isḥāq, the Qāḍī of Arzanjan approached the Sultan on behalf of 'Ala al-Dīn Kayqubād b. Kaykhusraw, ruler of Rūm and Syria. As in those days Rukn al-Dīn, ruler of Arzan al-Rum had not entered into an alliance with the Sultan and was not on good terms with the former he did not allow 'Alā al-Dīn's delegates to pass through his lands. Later on when Rukn al-Dīn

made a true estimate of Sultan's achievements, 'Alā al-Dīn's delegates were allowed to pass. The Sultan granted them an audience and after a brief exchange of formalities they requested the Sultan for matrimonial alliance between the son of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād and the daughter of Jalāl al-Dīn. The Sultan kept quite. Sharf al-Mulk who happened to be there, flew into a rage and abused the delegate at their absurd request. But the real cause of his offence was that the presents offered to him were hardly worth two thousand *dīnārs*. Thus the delegation failed and 'Alā al-Dīn made an alliance with Al-Malik al-Ashraf.[1]

The fall of Khalat.

When the siege had lasted for a long time and the defenders, on account of the scarcity of eatbles were compelled to eat cats and dogs, one of the commanders of Al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ismā'īl Iwani entered into secret correspondence with the Sultan. He communicated, that he was willing to help the Sultan in bringing about the fall of the city, provided the Sultan agreed to grant him as estate in Adharbaijan, The Sultan, fed up with the unexpectedly prolonged siege, acceded to his request and promised to (shower) ample favours upon him.

The commander with the help of a rope, pulled up, during the night, a large number of the Sultan's soldiers who hoisted his flags on different government buildings. The next morning, the Sultan's soldiers who had entered the town fell upon the enemy and a pitched battle started. As the number of the forces of Akhlat was far larger than those of the Sultan, they got an upper hand and pushed them back. It was a critical stage for the Sultan's men as they were on the verge of complete annihilation. The citizens by chance, caught sight of the Sultan's flags fluttering on almost all the government buildings and the contingent of his army who had occupied positions on the parapet, and were about to reinforce their men. They lost heart and took to their heels. Mujir al-Dīn and Taqī al-Dīn, the brothers of al-Malik al-Ashraf and 'Izz al-

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 183-98.

Din Aybak the slave of Mujir al-Din entered a fort and shut its gates.

As people of Akhlat had suffered a lot during the siege, the Sultan ordered that the citizens should not be bothered any more, and no harm should be done to them and to their property. The nobles of the Sultan's court intervened on behalf of the army and remonstrated, "Your Majesty, the soldiers have undergone many a hard ship during this siege. It will disappoint them very much if prohibitory orders are not withdrawn". The Sultan agreed to it with a heavy heart and the soldiers swooped down on poor citizens like birds of prey. This anarchy lasted for three days with the result that thousands of people perished.

After a short while Mujir al-Dīn, his brother and their slave 'Izz al-Din realized the futility of their attempt and requested for forgiveness. They were pardoned and brought in the Sultan's presence. 'Izz al-Din was also forgiven, but as he and his soldiers had abused the Sultan within his hearing, the Sultan, when 'Izz al-Din was granted audience did not allow him to kiss his hands. It was after great reluctance that Jalāl al-Dīn allowed him to kiss his feet. The Sultan abhorred his presence and kept him standing while he with the brothers of al-Malik al-Ashraf sat at dinner.

After the fall of Akhlat, the Sultan deputed his commanders, to go to the adjoining districts and reduce them. 'Izz al-Dīn Sanjar, one of the nobles of al-Malik al-Ashraf, in custody of the Sultan, disclosed that as the neighbouring chiefs were in league with 'Izz al-Dīn and were regularly instructed by him, he was in a position to advise them to surrender. He, however, was compelled to write to them to surrender, but with no results. The Sultan imprisoned him in the fort of Dizmar and when the delegates of al-Malik al-Ashraf approached him to settle the terms of peace, 'Izz al-Dīn was put to death.

Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qamiri, one of the nobles of al-Malik al-Ashraf, was interned by the Sultan in a house. One day, his servant made a hole and Qamiri escaped.

After the complete ruin of Akhlat by his soldiers the Sultan repented of his hasty action against poor inhabitants but it was too late and the city was reduced to a heap of bricks. The city walls were re-built at the expense of four thousand *dinārs*, to be paid out of the royal treasury.[1]

When Jalāl al-Dīn was free of this engagement, the estate of Sarmari, which originally belonged to Sharf al-Dīn Azrah and his son, was bestowed on Ur Khān. Both father and son had been conspicuous by their absence from the scene of action. They had paid only one visit during this period and after a few day's stay left without the Sultan permission. Ḥusām al-Dīn Khiḍar, the cousin of Sharf al-Dīn had been with the Sultan throughout this siege, and had helped the Sultan in conquerring Arjish even before the fall of Khalat. When he learnt of the award of the estate of Sarmari to Ur Khān, he approached Sharf al-Mulk and promised to pay ten thousand *dīnārs* in case he succeeded in securing the Sultan's orders in his favour. Sharf al-Malk suceeeded and Ḥusām al-Dīn proceeded to his old estate, Aniq, and planned to remove Sharf al-Dīn from his way to safeguard his interest against any danger in future. He tried hard to catch hold of Sharf al-Dīn and his son, but in vain. Aḥmad al-Nasawī who was with Ḥusām al-Dīn wrote to Sharf al-Dīn, that as the Sultan was displeased with him he should better secure the intercession of Ḥusām al-Dīn and approach the Sultan through him. He expecting no foul play as Aḥmad was brought up by Sharf alDīn like a son, went to Ḥusām al-Dīn who put him under arrest.[2]

Once again the Caliph's delegates visited the Sultan's court in connection with the fall of Akhlat and recommended to him the release of Mujir al-Dīn and Taqi al-Dīn, brothers of Al-Malik al-Ashraf. The latter was accordingly set free, and the Sultan marched to Manazjard to lay a siege around it.[3]

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 198-201.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 202-203.
3 *Ibid*, pp. 204-205.

Battle against the Sultan of Rum and Syria

When the Sultan was busy with the siege of Manazjard, he was approached by Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh b. Ṭughril, who had rendered valuable servicees to the Sultan during the siege of Akhlat. He reported that the Sultan of Rūm and Shām with a few accomplices,[1] was making preparations to fight against him. He suggested further that the Sultan should march against him and crush him there and then. The Sultan approved the plan and ordered a march.

In the meanwhile, the Sultan fell seriously ill, and though he wanted to put off this expedition to a better time, yet Rukn al-Dīn[2] pressed him so much that he could not refuse it. He, consequently ordered Utar Khān to march in the vanguard of two thousand soldiers to the battle-field and engage 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād Sultan of Rūm and Shām (Syria). The conflict resulted in the rout of 'Alā al-Dīn. As 'Alā al-Dīn had been reposing great confidence in the courage of his veteran soldiers, he was very much disheartened at the unexpected result of this clash and wanted to disassociate himself from his friends. But as it was too late, he could not be permitted to back out. When both the armies came face to face at the battle-field of Biāsjimān,[3] the Sultan's right wing attacked the left wing of the opposing army and pushed it back. The Sultan's soldiers saw some of them running and followed them. The enemy's pickets on the way pounced on them. Consequently a big number of the Sultan's men were taken captives and put to the sword. This was followed by a general retreat and the entire army scattered away. Rukn al-Dīn, was also killed. The cause of this unforeseen defeat was the Sultan's reliance on his personal valour. He therefore refused to accept any help from

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1 His helpers were Ashraf, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī, ruler of Ḥallab, 'Ala al-Dīn Kayqubād and Al-Malik al-Ashraf. Ibn Khaldūn, Vol V, p 138.

2 He was a cousin of 'Alā al-Dīn with whom he was not on good terms. Ibn al-Athīr. Vol. XII, p. 227.

3 'Alā al-Dīn had twenty thousand men and al-Malik al-Ashraf had five thousand. The ruler of Ḥallab was the c-in-c of these forces. *Ibid.*

any of his governors ruling in various provinces like Arran, A<u>dh</u>ar-baijan, Mazandran, Iraq and so on. The battle was fought on the 29th *Ramaḍān*, 627/1230.[1]

The Sultan asked <u>Sh</u>arf al-Mulk to stay at Saknabad, a place in the vicinity of A<u>dh</u>arbaijan and himself went to <u>Kh</u>ay. This mishap helped al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf who laid a siege around A<u>kh</u>lat. When al-Malik al-A<u>sh</u>raf learnt of <u>Sh</u>arf al-Malik's presence at Saknabad, he to patch up his differences with Jalāl al-Dīn, entered into correspondence with him (<u>Sh</u>arf al-Mulk) and requested his intervention to induce the Sultan for peace. In that corres-

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1 Abū al-Fidā says that as the Sultan's army on the occasion of the fall of A<u>kh</u>lat had committed atrocities on citizens and had not listened to the intercession of the rulers of the neighbouring countries, the rulers joined hands to fight the Sultan and put an end to him. *Tarī<u>kh</u>*, Vol. II, p. 146. It is also said that the cause of the battle was that the Sultan had antagonized these rulers by not listening to their recommendatlons regarding raising of the siege. *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV. p. 161.

Juwayni's account of this battle is as follows :-

After the conquest of A<u>kh</u>lat all the great and small rulers of the neighbouring countries feeling themselves unsafe joined heads to devise means to lead an expedition against Jalāl al-Dīn and crush him once and for all. When the Sultan learnt of their intentions, he moved to Manazjard and to repair the losses sustained in the last battle, recruited a large number of soldiers there. Although he, on this occasion was seriously ill, yet hearing of their preparations, he could not help marching against them. The Sultan, by chance, came across six thousand men in the desert of Mush who were going to assist 'Alā al-Dīn. The Sultan fell on them and put them to flight. After a few days, when both the armies came face to face, the Sultan to his utter astonishment, found that there was no end to the forces he had to meet. Jalāl al-Dīn, being extremely weak, was in a litter and the battle was at its highest pitch. The Sultan noticed some signs of weakness in the enemy's forces, and in order to encourage his men wanted to ride a horse. As he was weak, he could not firmly hold the rein of his horse, he thereby turned aside and the royal standard also moved back. The soldiers mistook it and thought that the Sultan was leaving the field. They thereupon took to their heels leaving the Sultan there almost alone. But as the Sultan's army had the upper hand in the battle, the enemy taking it as a ruse did not pursue them. The Sultan returned to A<u>kh</u>lat. *Jahān Gu<u>sh</u>ā*. p. 180-82.

pondence he praised the Sultan and admitted that it was he who could successfully stem the tide of Mongol's invasion and that in this respect he was the real benefactor and protector of the world of Islam. However, peace was arranged and the Sultan promised to be friendly with al-Malik al-Ashraf and 'Alā al-Dīn Kayiqūbād. The estate of Samari, though it for a long time, was attached to Adharbaijan, yet it, along with Akhlat was given to al-Malik al-Ashraf, on the request of Shams al-Takrini who in this peace had acted as a mediator on behalf of al-Malik al-Ashrāf and 'Ala al-Dīn Kayqubād. The Sultan meanwhile hearing of the arrival of an army of the Mongols in Iraq marched thereto.[1]

Ahmad al-Nasawi as a delegate.

As 'Ala al-Dīn, ruler of Alamūt had not paid annual tribute of Damghan for the last two years. The Sultan deputed his royal scribe Aḥmad to go to Alamūt and settle accounts with him. In the meanwhile a delegate, from Alamūt named Fakhr al-Dīn visited the Sultan's court and brought twenty thousand *dīnārs* instead of sixty thousand due from 'Ala al-Dīn. Moreover, the Sultan during the siege of Akhlat, pressed as he was by the circumstances had conferred the soverignty of Mūsal and some adjoining districts including Iraq on the Caliph of Baghdad. Later on the Sultan realized his mistake and sent some of his reliable courtiers to the chiefs of those districts to ascertain at first their loyalty and then stir up a row with the Caliph. As the Sultan wanted to keep his design a secret, he instructed Aḥmad to go first to Qazwin and thence proceed to Alamūt. The courtiers who were sent to the courts of the chiefs of Iraq and Mūsal, met Aḥmad at Qazwin and conveyed to him, the loyalty of the chiefs of Iraq and Mūsal to the Sultan, Some of them rather complained as to why they were transferred to the Caliph's control without their previous consent. Aḥmad, thence proceeded to Alamūt.

Besides delay in the payment of annual tribute, 'Alā al-Dīn was not observing even courtsey to keep up appearances as a vassal

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 227; Abū al-Fidā, *Tarīkh*, Vol. II, p. 146.

of the Sultan. He was rather inciting the Mongols against him. Moreover on the return of Ghiyāth to his court, 'Alā al-Dīn out of treachery and faithlessness had given Ghiyāth an escort of four hundred soldiers to rebel. The Sultan's letter to 'Alā al-Dīn which contained these allegations was couched in harsh words, with definite instructions to the bearer not to go to 'Alā al-Dīn's court unless he ('Alā al-Dīn) himself received him.[1]

On his way to Alamūt Aḥmad passed through Iraq and discussed the matter with Sharf al-Dīn, ruler of that place, and invited his opinion. He opined, that if he literally followed the Sultan's instructions, he would definitely entail the risk of the failure of his mission, because it was a custom with the Ismā'ilies that their ruler as long he did not attain majority, did not receive anyone; and 'Alā al-Dīn was not a major as yet and there was absolutely no hope that they would go against their old tradition. When Aḥmad approached Alamūt, 'Imad al-Dīn al-Muḥtasham received him on behalf of the State. After three day's halt, a meeting was arranged between Aḥmad and 'Alā al-Dīn at the peak of a lofty mountain. The Sultan's letter was delivered to 'Alā al-Dīn and a discussion followed on all the items one by one. First of all the question of the discontinuation of the *khuṭbah* in the name of the Sultan was thrased out. The Sultan's delegate asserted that during the reign of the late Sultan Muḥammad, it was decided between the delegates to introduce *khuṭbāh* in the late Sultan's name. 'Alā al-Dīn categoricaliy refuted the statement and said, "We never agreed to read the *khuṭbah* in the name of the late Sultan and that the Qāḍī must have had told them a white lie". The more Aḥmad tried to bring them round to agree to it the more adamant they were. As regards the second allegation, that they were instigating the Mongols against the Sultan, 'Alā al-Dīn said", "It is a mere fabrication. The Mongols are our immediate neighbours and we, of course, sometimes have to humour them, which does not mean any disloyalty to the Sultan. The Sultan must be remembring those critical times when he had returned

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 208-09.

from India and he had no friend to rely upon throughout the whole country". He further remarked that it was only for the sake of the late Sultan, that his people went on fighting against Shahāb al-Din, the Ghurid, for years together. In face of such unassailable proof of his loyalty and devotion to the House of the Khwārazmshāhs, it was sheer injustice to accuse him of disloyalty to the cause of the present Sultan.

As regards the annual tribute, he said, that when five *fida'ies* were burnt alive for no fault of theirs by the Sultan's orders he had submitted a claim to Sharf al-Mulk for fifty thousand *dinārs* as their blood-money at the rate of ten thousand per head. And the minister after upholding the legetimacy of their demand had authorised them to deduct this amount from the annual tribute at the rate of ten thousand *dīnārs* per annum. The letter of authority to support his statement was produced for Aḥmad's examination. Moreover, Amīn al-Dīn Rafīq al-Khādim, ruler of Fīrūzkuh had once robbed his men of fifteen thousand *dinārs*, and as Amīn was directly under the Sultan, he ('Alā al-Dīn) was eligible to claim that amount also. Aḥmad, the Sultan's delegate remonstrated that events mentioned by him ('Alā al-Din) took place before the existence of any treaty between the ruler of Alamūt and the Sultan. 'Alā al-Din retorted, that there always existed friendly relations between both the states since the times of the late Sultan and they always abided by it as the facts mentioned above bore testimony to it.

Concerning the authority letter of Sharf al-Mulk to deduct blood-money out of the annual tribute, Aḥmad declared it illegal and questioned the bonafides of the chief minister to do so. 'Alā al-Dīn refused to agree to it, and said, "When Sharf al-Mulk's bonafides have never been questioned in any of state affairs of whatsoever importance it may be, why it is being questioned in this particular case". Anyhow after a very long discussion it was agreed upon for the present to pay twenty thousand *dīnārs* to Aḥmad and refer the matter to the Sultan for balance.

Many other important matters were also discussed at these

meetings. Sharf al-Dīn, ruler of Iraq, had also accompanied Aḥmad, despite his being an eloquent man, he felt so nervous in the presence of this young ruler of the hills that he often stammered. 'Alā al-Dīn gave three thousand *dīnārs* to each of them with two precious robes-of-honour.[1]

When Aḥmad on his way back arrived at Qazwin, he learnt of the presence of the Mongols at Asfarain.[2] The journey was very unsafe. Aḥmad's mission was a public secret and people knew that he was having with him more than forty thousand *dinārs*. The poor delegate was extremely worried. Quite unexpectedly here was announced the arrival of Nuṣrat al-Dīn, minister of the ruler of Mazandran and Shafi' al-Dīn al-Tugharai who were going to meet the Sultan.[3] Aḥmad accompanied them.

Jalāl al-Dīn who was bound for Iraq was still putting up at Tabriz in order to enquire about the whereabouts of the Mongols. He despatched one of his nobles called Yarghu to Iraq for this purpose. Arriving at Shirwan, he came face to face with a troop of the Mongols and as the number of Yarghu's men was only fourteen all except him were killed. As the winter was approaching fast, the Sultan conjectured that the Mongols would pass winter somewhere in Iraq and march against him in the next spring. He, therefore, would be having six month's time at his disposal to make preparations and properly deal with them. But when he heard of the Mongol's presence in that vicinity, unprepared for the ordeal as he was, he was altogether non-plused. Leaving his family there, he marched to Muqan in the company of Mujir al-Dīn and Aḥmad al-Nasawī. Here he got a letter from Sharf al-Mulk that he had got hold of an Ismā'īlī who was in possession of a letter from 'Alā al-Dīn to the Mongol commander in which he

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 212-16.

2 A village in Khurasan. Its great plain grow much rice and fine grapes. The town was vejy populous and had good markets. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 393.

3 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 218-19.

had instigated him against the Sultan and that the bearer hed been put to death.[1]

On this critical juncture the arrival of Jahān Pahlwān Uzbak was announced, who had been acting in India as the Sultan's deputy since his departure, and who on account of his efficient administration and sympathetic treatment of people had endeared himself to them very much. Shams al-Din Iltumish, the Emperor of India, thinking his presence detrimental to his own cause had marched against him and obliged him to leave India. When he crossed the Indus, he informed Shams al-Din of Iraq of his approach and sent twenty thousand *dīnārs* as a monetary help to Jalāl al-Dīn. Just at this time Sharf al-Dīn got the Sultan's orders to remit money and instructed Jahān Pahlwān to pass winter in Iraq.

On Sultan's arrival at Armiyah, he got a letter from the commander of the fort of Balak, situated in the vicinity of Zanjan, that number of the Mongols who had attacked Yarghu was about seven hundred. The Sultan misjudged the situation and thought that that troop of the Mongols was going to Zanjan to pass winter. Aḥmad al-Nasawī opined "Your Majesty, I think this troop of soldiers is the Mongol's van-guard to be followed by the main army"?. The Sultan replied "Yes, it is possible, but I think, had this been the case, their number would have been seven thousand and not seven hundred, as they have already tested my iron."

Since the Sultan's end was quite at hand, he was mostly feeling morose and dejected. Reaching Muqan, he found the army inadequate and ill-equipped. Most of the soldiers had left for Shirwan, Matkore and other places. Urgent orders were issued to them to assemble at Muqan, but as the Mongols were in his wake, and he was not strong enough to fight them, he was forced toleave before his forces could come to his help. Meanwhile the ruler of Ardbil and Ḥusām al-Dīn Takintāsh, ruler of Firuzābād were also

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 219.

asked to march with their forces and procure necessary equipment to meet the foe.[1]

An incident at the Fort of Shir Kabut

During the days when the Sultan was busy in recruitment, one day he with a troop of one thousand soldiers, proceeded to a hunting ground and put up for the night at Shir Kabut. Aḥmad al-Nasawi, one Mongol soldier captured during the siege of Khalat and whose life the Sultan had spared, was also in his company. Early in the morning, when, as usual, Aḥmad went to attend the Sultan, he, to his utter astonishment, found that the Sultan with his entire retinue had left for an unknown destination leaving his bag and baggage there. Aḥmad was at his wits end as to where to go. At last he proceeded to Baylqān and arriving in its neighbourhood learnt that Sharf al-Mulk with the Sultan's family and royal treasurers was putting up there. Aḥmad did not stay there and proceeded to Ganjah.

When the Sultan had escaped with his life from Shirkabut, owing to a Mongol attack at mid-night, Mujir al-Dīn, the brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf was also with him. Mujir had realized that the Mongol menace was a threat to the whole Muslim world and it was the duty of all the Muslim rulers to put up a united front against them. He requested the Sultan to allow him to go to his brother, al-Malik al-Ashraf and induce him for his help. Jalāl al-Dīn permitted him and sent one of his ministers Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Qami also with him as to emphasize the point. But this disloyal man instead of seconding the mission of Mujir al-Dīn quite unexpectedly betrayed the trust reposed in him. Al-Malik al-Ashraf who was not already favourably inclined to the Sultan, refused point-blank to render him any help.[2]

From Shirkabut the Sultan made off to Adharbaijan and the Mongols thinking that he had left for Ganjah went there in persuit. Jalāl al-Dīn arrived at Māhān and finding it a pleasant and agree-

1 *Ibid.* pp. 220-21.

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 222-25. Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, pp. 141-42.

able place abouding in games encamped there to pass the winter. 'Izz al-Dīn commander of the fort of Shāhīn had turned a rebel for some time past, on account of the maltreatment by Sharf al-Mulk. Hearing of the Sultan's presence in that neighbourhood, he visited the Sultan and provided him with ample rations, and kept him in complete touch with the movement of the Mongols.

Jalāl al-Dīn was impressed with his loyal services and anxiously waited for a suitable opportunity to award his sincerity.

In the meantime, Sharf al-Mulk who had realized that the Sultan was almost a spent-force, had been showing signs of disloyalty and writing letters to the neighbouring chiefs in which he shamfacedly dubbed him as "Cruel and Cursed" so as to enlist their support if and when the Sultan was finished. Moreover the Sultan, in view of the hard times that he had ahead, imposed restrictions on him regarding expenditure, as he was a proverbial spend-thrift. He abhorred the Sultan so much so that whenever he found any of his men in that neighbourhood, he arrested him and fined heavily. He had issued instructions to Ḥuṣam al-Dīn Qalij Arsalān, that the Sultan's family and treasure be withheld and not released even to Jalāl al-Dīn himself. The Sultan consequently curtailed his power and issued instructions to nobles and chiefs not to carry out any of Sharf al-Mulk's orders, without his previous consent. This open revolt of the chief minister was tolerated by the Sultan simply because he was engaged in a business of a more important nature.

At the advent of spring it was communicated by 'Izz al-Dīn that the Mongols had moved out of Ujān and intend to fight the Sultan. He advised him to go to Arran. Jalāl al-Dīn set out from Mahan and arriving in the vicinity of Adharbaijan, encamped there to dispose of Sharf al-Mulk first. When the rebel minister heard of the Sultan's arrival, he was frightened beyond measure and approached him with a shroud bound over his head. The minister was one day present in his drinking party. The Sultan offered him wine which he accepted thinking that it would draw

him nearer to the Sultan. In accordance with the traditions it was considered as an insult to take wine at such occasions.

It was proposed that a reliable person be deputed to convey the Sultan's instructions to armies stationed at various places as to march to Arran and induce the Turkmans living in that neighbourhood to rally round the banner of Jalāl al-Dīn. Aḥmad al-Nasawī was called upon to do this arduous job. Although the Mongols had permeated in large number in that vicinity, yet Aḥmad succeeded in his two-fold mission and when he returned to Arran, the Sultan's army had swollen to the desired number.

In the meantime a message from Jarmaghun, a Mongol commander, was conveyed to Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥamzah, ruler of Nishapur, to severe his connections with the Sultan and join hands with the Mongols to rout him. The messenger was taken in custody and sent to the Sultan. He enquired from him the number of the forces with Jarmaghun. He said, that though they were estimated at twenty thousand, yet the number was much larger than that. The Sultan in order to stop the circulation of that alarming report ordered his execution.[1]

The end of Sharf al-Mulk.

Although Sharf al-Mulk was trying to placate the Sultan, yet his treacherous activities in the past had annoyed the Sultan so much so that he had determined to put an end to him. One day Jalāl al-Dīn went to inspect the fortress of Jaribur situated in the vicinity of Arran and asked its commander Salmān Beg, an old and cruel person, to intern Sharf al-Mulk in the fort and keep a vigilant watch on his movements. As the Sultan was head over ears busy, the fort commander taking advantage of the Sultan's engagements began to treat people badly. The Sultan overlooked his evil deeds because of his heavy engagements and because of the arduous duty of keeping Sharf al-Mulk in his custody. He soon realized the gravity of his acts and conspired with Sharf al-Mulk to save himself from consequences of his rash behaviour.

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 224-26.

On the suspension of Sharf al-Mulk, the Sultan had entrusted the charge of his slaves to Utar Khān to prevent them from making any mischief. One day he was approached, by Naṣir al-Dīn Qashtamar, commander of the slaves, with a ring from Sharf al-Mulk and a message from Salamān Beg, that those who were in sympathy with the miserable plight of their master should see him in the fort and affect his release by staging a revolt against the Sultan. Utar Khān reported the matter to Jalāl al-Dīn who felt highly aggrieved at the disloyalty of the fort commander. He sent for his son serving in the army, and informed him of the plot hatched by his father against him (the Sultan). The son after seeing his father conveyed his repentence to Jalāl al-Dīn and assured him of his father's whole-hearted loyalty. The Sultan said that he would believe in his father's sincerity and truth of his statement only when it was supported by the head of Sharf al-Mulk. He thereby sent him five men to be his accomplices. When these men entered Sharf al-Mulk's room he being certain that his end had come, asked his servant to fetch him water to perform ablution and say prayer. Having done it he allowed them to perform their job. They enquired from him whether he would like to be strangulated or beheaded. He preferred the latter but they differed from him on the ground that great men were seldom beheaded. A rope was therefore put around his neck and he was strangled. Leaving him there they awaited for some rime to cut his head and take it to the Sultan. But when they returned to his room, they found him sitting there with perfect composure. At this they put him to the sword and took his head to the Sultan.

Sharf al-Mulk's name was Shams al-Dīn Yaldarji. He was extremely generous, fond of literature and patron of learned and pious men. He, besides Arabic, could speak Turkish quite fluently and had a soft corner for the Turks. The only trouble with him was, that he was perfectly unreliable and fickle. For sometime, he enjoyed the Sultan's perfect trust but later on he had to change his opinion about him.[1]

1 *Al-Sirat li-Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 229-30.

According to the custom of the time the chief minister was paid one tenth of the entire revenue of the sultanate.[1]

Revolt at Ganjah.

At this critical juncture when the Sultan was engaged in a life and death struggle some of the bad characters at Ganjah, in order to please the Mongols, murdered all the Khwārazmian soldiers on the instigation of their ring-leader named Pindār. The Sultan, in order to set them right, deputed Aḥmad al-Nasawai and Khān Bardī his chamberlain, to go to Ganjah and frighten them of the consequences of their unlawful activities. They arriving at a village called Sir entered into correspondence with Pindār and his mischievous followers and advised them to abide by the law and order of the land especially at this critical juncture. But, since they were aware of the heavy engagements of Jalāl al-Din, they turned a deaf ear to it and refused to discontinue their harmful activities. One day the Sultan happened to be at Sir, and Pindār and his followers hearing of the Sultan's presence there, advanced on Sir and showered a volley of arrows on his tent. Although the Sultan at that time had a handful of soldiers, yet, he could not bear their insolence and at once pounced on them and put them to flight. Jalāl al-Din ordered a chase and despite the feverish efforts of the citizens the Sultan succeeded in entering the city. Notwithstanding the fact that they all were chips of the same block, the Sultan in order to have as little of bloodshed as possible, asked the citizens to pick them out and hand over the mischief-mongers to him. The inhabitants agreed and made them over to the Sultan, who executed them. He stayed there for seventeen days.

The Mongol pressure was increasing day by day. It was again suggested to the Sultan to request al-Malik al-Ashraf for military assistance. Utar Khān was of opinion that since al-Malik al-Ashraf was a most unreliable man, it would be altogether useless to try him once again. The Sultan himself proceeded on this mission to Akhlat to wait upon al-Mulk al-Ashraf there. When

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Din*, pp. 233-234.

he heard of the Sultan's approach, he left for Egypt. And when the Sultan's delegates reached Damascus al-Malik al-Ashraf had reached Egypt. Although he got a number of letters from Jalāl al-Dīn for military help, he did not move out of Egypt and made promises which he never intended to fulfil.

Being thus disappointed he despatched Aḥmad al-Nasawi to al-Malik at Muẓaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Malik al-'Ādil b. Ayyūb for help, with the request that the rulers of Amad and Mardīn also be persuaded to join hands with him in the war against the infidels.

Having been highly disheartend, the Sultan decided to embark on a very dangerous course. He despatched five thousand soldiers to the territory of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād for the purpose of loot. They worked havoc there and looted Khār, Arzanjān and Atiyyah completely. They drove such a large number of cattle that twenty goats were sold for one *dīnār*.

When Aḥmad al-Nasawī arrived at the court of al-Muẓaffar and conveyed to him the desire of the Sultan, he said, that "A pact of this nature has already been signed with 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād. If I help the Sultan, I shall have to help Kayqubād also under the terms of the pact, which means to make my men fight agains one another. Besides the Sultan throughout his career has been so inconsiderate of his alliances that I cannot safely trust him. It is quite probable that what is happening to poor 'Alā al-Dīn today, may happen to me tomorrow. Moreover I am not an independent ruler, but responsible to my brothers, and without their consent I am not in a position to help him". The rulers of Amad and Mardin also sent him a flat refusal.[1]

The Sultan's sudden end

Aḥmad al-Nasawī was still with al-Malik al-Muẓaffar when he learnt that a Mongol army had crossed Barkari and were in search of the Sultan. Aḥmad had failed in his mission and taking leave of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, set out for Hāni as the Sultan was en-

1 *Al-Sīrat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 235-239.

camping in the vicinity of Jabal-i-Jur. Having arrived there he learnt that, the Sultan relying on the information of a Mongol deserter was lying in ambush for an army of the Mongols to pass by that way, Jalāl al-Dīn, to deal a decivisve blow on them stationed Utar Khān with four thousand soldiers at some distance with instructions to await their arrival and retire slowly till they were caught in the trap. This unworthy man going a mile or two returned and reported that the Mongols had left for Manazjard, a fabrication, and it was undoubtedly due to the cowardice of this man that Jalāl al-Dīn met his Waterloo.

It was at Hānı, that the Sultan received, flat refusal from all neighbouring countries whom he had requested for military assistance. Leaving his family at Diyar-i-Bakr he went to Isfahan in compliance with a message from al-Malik al-Mas'ūd ruler of Amad to wage a war against 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād. The message added, that if they succeeded against 'Alā al-Dīn, he (the ruler of Amad) would join hands with Jalal al-Dīn against the Mongols. The Sultan taking his statement at its face value agreed to it. The real motive was that 'Alā al-Dīn had conquerred some of Mas'ūd's strongholds which he could not regain, and to retalite he instigated the Sultan against 'Ala al-Dīn Kayqubād.

Jalāl al-Dīn postponed his departure to Isfahan and marched to Amad to personally thrash the matter with the ruler of Amad and then advance against 'Alā al-Dīn. Reaching the vicinity of Amad he encamped by a bridge to pass night there. Suddenly he was awakened by a Turkman at the dead of night who reported that he had discerned in that vicinity a few soldiers quite unlike that of his own and whose horses were of black colour. As the Sultan was dead-drunk, he did not believe him and dismissed the Turkman. A troop of the Mongol soldiers was in the Sultan's wake and they arriving there had laid a siege around his camp long before the day-break and awaited for a chance to strike their final blow. Happily Ur Khān came to know of the Mongol project and fell on them and as the number of the Mongols was not enough they were forced to retire. The Sultan was still enjoying

a sound sleep. Ur Khān entering his tent awakened him and informed him of the danger he was in. He at once rode his horse and took to flight. Going a little farther he found that the Mongols were in his persuit and he was in danger. He asked Ur Khān to take the main portion of the army with him and leave him just with a few to avoid detection. But the Mongols continued to follow him.[1]

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1 Ibn al-Athīr's (Vol. XII, pp. 229-32) account of the Sultan's end is as follows :-

When Jalāl al-Dīn sufferd a defeat at the hands of al-Malik al-Ashraf and 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, the Ismāīlies, reported the matter to the Mongols stating that as the Sultan's condition had gone from bad to worse, it would be in the fitness of things to attack him and crush him. Since the Sultan was of an agressive nature, he had offended almost all the neighbouring rulers and chiefs and they always prayed for his fall. It was a high time for the Mongols to strike a decisive blow on a foe at whose hands they had sufferred many a humiliating defeat, and whom they had found a hard nut to crack. They at once advanced on Rayy and Hamadan and thence moved to Adharbaijan. The Sultan's army which for the last sixteen years had been on an unintermittent war with every body, was fed up with its miserable lot and wanted a respite. So much so that even his prime minister could not see eye to eye with him and hence deserted him. Moreover, the Sultan had become peevish in nature and consequently the number of his well-wishers had been considerably reduced. Itwas on this occasion that Jalāl al-Din had requested most of his neighbouring rulers to join with him to deal successsfully with the Mongols. Being disappointed, he marched to Khalat intending to go to Dyar-i-Bakr and Jazirah and make request for military help to the Caliph of Baghdād and other chiefs. But the Mongols were after him. Arriving at Amad he encamped there and placed pickets on the roads approaching the city. But this too availed him nothing and the Mongols attacked him at the dead of night. The Sultan's soldiers were dispersed. Some of them went to Jaran and were deprived of all their possessions by the ruler of the place. Those who went to Nasībin, Mūsal, Sanjar and Arbil met the same fate. The Sultan could not be traced out.

Juwayni's account of the Sultnn's end is as follows :-

Soon after his defeat at the hands of al-Malik al-Ashraf and 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, he got news that Jarmaghān with a hue army of the Mongols had crossed Amuyah. The Sultan marched to Tabriz and requested the Caliph of

The Sultan turned to Amad. When they approached the town, the critizens, thinking that the Khwārazmians army was going to loot them shut their gates against them. The Sultan marched to Jazirah to take shelter into one of its strongholds proverbial for its impregnability. But the out-laws in that vicinity had made the road almost impassable and a large number of the Sultan's men were waylaid and killed. Utar Khān being disappointed with the unfavourable circumstances, prevailed upon the Sultan to return. He, for the night encamped in a village in the vicnity of Mayyafariqin named Bidar. That very night the Mongols raided his camp and forced him to run for his life. A considerable number of the Sultan's men were slain and the remainders captured. The Sultan was left quite alone. The Mongols in order to finish their job deputed fifteen men to chase him and kill or capture him. The

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Baghdad and other neighbouring rulers to lend him a help, which was refused by them point-blank. Meanwhile, he heard of the Mongol's presence at Sarab and in order to block their way he proceeded to Bishkin and put up for the night in an inn By chance, the front portion of the building collapsed that night. The Sultan interpreted it as a bad omen. After a march, for five consecutive days to escape the Mongols, he arrived at Ughan and encamped there. The enemy was in his wake and a clash was imminent.. He, therefore, leaving his bag and baggage there, marched to Qaban and the Mongols being tired of the endless chase returned. He passed winter of 628/2130 at Amad and Ashnu and in the spring went to Dayr-i-Bakr. In order to be in touch with the movement of the enemy he had despatched Buqu Khān to Adharbaijan to enquire about the Mongols. He relying on rumours returned and reported that they were gone for good. As Jalāl al-Din was feeling very much worried, he hearing of their return, took to wine forgetting them altogether. Suddenly one night he was awakened by Ur Khān, who informed him of the arrival of the Mongols. The Sultan rode his horse and asked Ur Khan to keep the royal ensign with him and engage the enemy for a while to enable him to gain time. The poor Ur Khān could not be a match for them. He, after exchanging a few blow, left the field. But the Mongols soon realized their mistake, gave up his chase and killed all those who were found in the Sultan's camp. Historians differ as regards his end. Some say that he went to Kurdistan and was killed by a Kurd who took fancy to his royal robe while other believe that he became a *Darwesh* and was seen wandering from village to village. *Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 180-92; *Guzidah*, p. 503.

Sultan had to deal with fifteen men single handed. Two of them were ahead of others and overtook the Sultan. But he when they were within his reach, returned and killed them. The rest returned. The Sultan made for Kurdistan and was captured by a band of Kurds who after robbing him of his clothes and arms wanted to kill him. Jalāl al-Dīn disclosed his identity and asked them to take him back to his own territory or to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar where they would be amply rewarded. The Kurd leaving him in the custody of his wife went to a friend to consult him in this behalf. Shortly after there appeared another Kurd who enquired from the woman as to why her husband had spared this Khwārazmi so far, and had not killed him. The woman prevented him from doing any harm to him. Firstly because her husband had given him protection and secondly that he claimed that he was Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn. The Kurd remarked." On what ground did you believe his statement. My brother who was killed in the the siege of Khalat was more handsome than this self-styled Sultan". He unsheathed his sword and killed Jalāl al-Dīn.

When the news of the Sultan's death reached al-Malik al-Muẓaffar he sent his men to bring back the Sultan's arms and clothes for identification by those who knew him closely. When the identification was established, his remains were unearthed and brought to Akhlat.[1]

Remarks

"The gallant Jalāl al-Dīn[2] Mankaburni, the last bulwark of Islam against the devastating hordes of the heathen Mongols" was the eldest son of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh. Although his younger brother Arzlaq Sultan, a nonentity was proclaimed heir-apparent by the Sultan long before his differences with the Mongols, yet Jalāl al-Dīn's devotion and fortitude won admiration of the Sultan himself and that of his nobles who abided by the Sultan through thick and thin, and 'Alā al-Dīn while on his

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn* pp. 246-50.

2 *Brown's History of Literature*, Vol. IX, p. 307.

death-bed in the Caspian Sea revised his decision in favour of Jalāl al-Dīn, the last immortal warrior of the great and illustrious dynasty of the Khwārazshāhs. It was in the spring of 616 H. (1220 A. D.) that the Mongol hordes advanced on Samarqand and Sultan Muḥammad who at that time was having four hundred thousand soldiers under his personal command, inspite of Jalāl al-Dīn's strong opposition distributed them to various places, and himself marched to Khurasan to avoid encounter with the Great Khān who had set out of his country to avenge death of the Muslim traders and that of his ambassador. During the following two years, the Sultan was seen running before the Mongols till he breathed his last in 617 H. (1221 A.D). Almost all the important cities and strongholds in Transoxiana and Khurasan by that time were captured by the Mongols and when Jalāl al-Dīn returned from the Caspian Sea, the enemy was besieging Khwārazm the metropolis of the Empire. The new Khwārazmshāh had a Herculean task before him. He had to meet an enemy who had fortified his position everywhere and who with a superior number of soldiers, flushed with victory, was combing the whole land to capture him. Arriving at Khwārazm the Sultan left for India via Ghaznin to have a breathing time. Chingīz who had measured arms against Jalāl al-Dīn at Barwan, rode in hot haste, in his pursuit to prevent hīm from going to India. He in view, of the Sultan's bold bearing was not much wrong to anticipate that countless deeds of gallantry would be achieved by him and vast trouble caused. The Sultan was overtaken on the bank of the Sindh a little below the Nilāb called Ghora-Trap or the 'Horse Leap' (probably this name is derived from the Sultan's feat). Being hard pressed by the enemy Jalāl al-Dīn jumped into the river from the over-hanging bank about thirty feet above the water-level, and inspite of Chingīz and his army reached the opposite bank. The river at this particular place is about 180 feet deep and 250 yards wide and flows at the rapid speed of nine or ten miles an hour. When the Sultan arrived at the opposite bank, he was all alone and though it was not difficult for Chingīz to depute a troop of soldiers to

capture the Sultan yet the Khān abstained from doing so, most probably on compassionate grounds.

The Ṣultan stayed in India for about two years. No detailed account of his expeditions is given by any of the historians consulted by the writer, but one can easily infer that the Sultan failed to achieve his object, and after exploring all avenues to better his lot, he returned to his native land. The circumstances in Transoxiana and Khurasan had not altered at all, and the Sultan, in order to recapture the territory lost by him, had to fight a tenacious and deadly foe. The vast and unstable empire of his father had been lost to an inch and he had to surmount heavy odds and cross unsurmountable obstacles to gain a foot-hold. The Sultan, notwithstanding, his best efforts spread over a period of ten years failed miserably to reconquer his country and died a death unworthy of his prestige as a soldier and a warrior of great renown.

We have fully discussed the causes which contributed to the fall of this great empire which was at one time vaster than that of the empire af Malikshāh, the Saljuqid and therefore we need not reproduce those causes here again. There is no doubt that the Sultan's rashness and inelasticity played no mean a part in the extermination of the tottering Khwārazmian house, yet the way to it had been already paved during the life-time of his late father. It will not be out of place to briefly sketch the character of this great man who for a decade fought steadfastly against the forces of oppression and tyranny.

The Sultan as a Soldier

"He was, according to Yafa'ī and other trustworthy writers, the greatest, the most-noble-minded, the most warlike, the most devout of the sons of his father and the most worthy jewel of the diadem of sovereignty. His valour rivalled that of Rustam and Isfandyār and he was noble, skilful and sagacious. If there was any man in those days capable of coping with Chingīz successfully, it was he. His brothers, however, were selfish beyond measure and cared for naught but their own interest and wordly pleasures and

excesses, while Jalāl al-Dīn was kept in constant attendance upon his father, contrary to his own inclinations.[1]

There is no dearth of briilitant instances to be quoted in support of the personal valour of the Sultan. On his return from India, he fought a pitched battle against the Mongols, despite the fact that his brother deserted just when both the armies stood face to face. Although this untimely desertion of thirty thousand soldiers had a demoralizing effect on the Sultan's army, yet he did not lose heart and faced the enemy fairly and squarely.

Before leaving for India, the Sultan met Chingīz twice; on the battle-fields of Barwan and the Sindh, and on both the occa sions the Mongol army was under the personal command of Chingīz, and we learn on the authority of Nasawi that in both the battles, the Khān was routed. It was for the second time that the Mongols rallied around their Great general and compelled the Sultan to jump into the river a feat of valour which hardly needs any comment.

When the Sultan's political influence began to extend far and wide and all the neighbouring Muslim and *non*-Muslim rulers signed a pact to fight him in order to nip the evil in the bud, the Sultan summoned a war-council to discuss a strategy with his generals. Sharf al-Mulk suggested to avoid clash and advised him to put the matter off till a suitable time. This was a direct challenge to the Sultan's self-respect and sense of honour. He hurled an ink-pot on the prime minister and turned him out of his presence. Despite meagre preparations the Sultan fought and fought well.

During the siege of Akhlat which lasted for ten months, the Sultan was challenged by Mujir al-Dīn, brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf to a duel. The Sultan accepted the challenge. Although his generals tried their level best to dissuade him from fighting duel against a man who was not of his calibre and status he refused to listen to their advice. Mujir al-Dīn backed out and appea-

1 Raverty, p. 285.

ring on the city-walls absued the Sultan, just to display his rancour.

Being pressed hard by the unfavourable circumstances the Sultan's envoys approached the Caliph of Bag͟hdad for military help against C͟hingīz K͟hān. The Caliph could not entertain the idea of helping a man whose ancestors had been a source of a lot of inconvenience to him. He instructed his general Qas͟htamar to scare away the Sultan and fight him if need be. As the Sultan wanted to avoid clash with the house of Abassids, he refused to come to blows with the Caliph's commander who was on the head of thirty thousand soldiers The caliph's commander turned a deaf ear to the Sultan's plea and put his men in battle array. The Sultan having no alternative but to fight, put up such a resistance that the enemy was routed and Qas͟htamar was killed.

The Sultan as a Ruler

The late Sultan Muḥammad was very unpopular with the neighbouring rulers both Muslims and non-Muslims. He committed flagrant breaches of solemn faith with almost all the chiefs who signed any pact with him. He started with the annexation of the Saljuqid and G͟hurid empires bit by bit till he completely liquidated both of them. The Sultan paid a tribute of thirty thousand *dīnārs* to Qarā-K͟hiṭā'is as long as it suited his convenience and later on waged war against them till he reduced them to a second rate power. Even the Caliph of Bag͟hdad, religious head of the whole Muslim world was not an exception to the Sultan's vilification and harrasments.

With this ugly back-ground Jalāl al-Dīn needed all-out efforts to regain the lost position and inspire confidence. The Sultan had to face a life and death struggle and before embarking on this grim expedition he ought to have pacified all those brother rulers who harboured any grudge against him on account of the maltreatment of his late-father. We understand that on many critical hours, he appealed to all Muslim neighbouring rulers inclusive of the Caliph of Bag͟hdad but in vain. He himself was never conci-

liatory to them and never failed to pounce on them whenever there was an opportunity. Although, the Muslim rulers, in the heart of their hearts knew it for certain that the Sultan was the only man who could successfully fight the Mongol hordes and he was the champion of light and civilization against forces of darkness and barbarity, yet they were so afraid of him that they made a common cause against him, so much so that, most of them were in actual sympathy with the Mongols, writing letters to them and inviting them to attack the Sultan. This state of affairs is a sad commentary on the Sultan's diplomacy. He failed to apreciate the bankruptcy of his strategy and never pondered over the undesirability of that policy. He never probed into the consequences of the line of action chalked out by him, till his career after a stern struggle of ten years ended in utter failure.

The Sultan's rashness requires no comments. He never avoided clash however unprepared he would be. He always underrated the strength of his opponent and never hesitated to hazard a fight however unequal it might be. On his return from India, he fought a battle against the Mongols in the vicinity of Isfahan in a most-unprepared condition and with a highly unequipped and meagre army. At a later date while the Sultan was busy with the Gurjis, he was informed that Buraq Ḥājib taking advantage of the Sultan's engagement was advancing on Iraq. Jalāl al-Dīn, at once, set out to attack the Ḥājib unawares. After a march of seventeen consecutive days, the Sultan was on Buraq with a contingent of only three hundred soldiers. Thanks to the Sultan's star that scuffle did not take place and he escaped the consequences of another hazardous and risky venture.

At the close of his career, we again find him fighting against 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, the ruler of Rūm and Shām. The Sultan in these days was suffering from indifferent health. The nobles and courtiers advised him to avoid clash till he was reinforced by the outlying provinces. But Jalāl al-Dīn as usual disregarded the advice and plunged into the fight. The battle was going on in its full fury and the Sultan due to indisposition and extreme weakness

was in a litter. When he wanted to ride a horse, he was so weak that he could not sit on its back. This was crucial moment and the Sultan was having upper hand. But the tables were turned. Jalāl al-Dīn's army was routed and he was left on the battle-field in the company of a few nears and dears.

The Sultan as a Man

Human being as a rule is a cruel animal and noble exceptions prove the rule. The Sultan was also an exception. He was a benevolant, amicable, and large-hearted prince. He could forgive his deadliest enemy even at critical junctures.

When Jalāl al-Dīn after inflicting a crushing defeat on the forces of the Caliph of Baghdad was proceeding to Iraq, he on the way met Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the ruler of Arbil who was going to Baghdad to reinforce the Caliph's army. The Sultan attacked unexpectedly the rear of Muẓaffar's army and captured him. Although he could expect no generous treatment from Jalāl al-Dīn, yet the Sultan pardoned him without asking. This generous gesture was highly appreciated by the ruler of Arbil and cemented the bonds of abiding friendship between them.

Buraq Ḥājib was the most unreliable vassal of the Sultan. It was not once that he showed disaffection towards his patron, and revolted. It appears that he was so certain of the Sultan's large-heartedness, that he never hesitated to rebel whenever there was any chance to do so. Having come to learn that the Sultan was busy at Adharbaijan, the Ḥājib advanced on Iraq to append it to his own principality. The Sultan, however, could not brook this flagrant breach of faith and set out at full speed to punish his opportunist vassal. After seventeen days's march when the Sultan stood face to face with Buraq, the rebel Ḥājib lost heart and apologised and the Sultan as usual pardoned him.

'Izz al-Dīn was a Turkish slave of Mujir al-Dīn, the brother of al-Malik al-Ashraf. During the siege of Akhlat, he and his master, invariably appearing on the city-wall abused the Sultan.

The city fell and Mujir al-Din and his slave 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak approached the Sultan and apologised. Mujir al-Dīn was pardoned and 'Izz al-Dīn who had highly antagonised the Sultan was thrown into prison. Since the foolish Aybak had gravely insulted the Sultan, he after a brief imprisonment was put to the sword, a punishment which in view of his social status can never be regarded as too much.

Ghiyāth al-Din, the Sultan's step-brother deserted the Sultan with his thirty thousand men, when the Mongols stood face to face with Jalāl al-Dīn. This was a stab in the back which could hardly be forgiven by any person however generous and liberal he might be. When the Sultan disentangled himself of this engagement, he wrote to 'Alā al-Din, ruler of Alamūt, with whom Ghiyāth al-Dīn had taken shelter, to hand over Ghīyāth al-Din to him. 'Alā al-Din, the royal host, intervened on behalf of his treacherous guest and Ghīyāth was pardoned.

We end his account by quoting the opinion of his learned biographer Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī :

"Jalāl al-Dīn[1] was of fair complexion and medium size. His mother tongue was Turkish but he could speak Persian also. In valour he was the Rustam of his time. He was of brave and forgiving nature fond of doing justice and being kind to others. He loved his soldiers from the core of his heart and made every possible sacrifice to keep them happy. He talked very little and seldom talked ill of anybody. He simply smiled when heard of anything unusual.

"He held the Caliph of Baghdad in great esteem and addressed him as "Our Leader and Head, Commander of the Faithful and Religous head of Believers, Caliph of the Prophet of Allah. He called himself his obedient servant."

He died in the month of *Shawwāl* in 628/August, 1231.

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1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, pp. 240-41.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION

Very little is known of the administrative machinery at work in those days. The political science was at its infancy and there were no hard and fast rules to run the administration. At the helm of state affairs, stood the king, an absolute monarch, responsible only to God, whose word was an unquestionable law. He inherited throne from his immediate ancestor and could keep it only with the sweat of his brows. Though there existed a convention that the eldest prince was regarded as heir-apparent, yet, except in very exceptional cases, nobody attached much weight to it and the convention was observed, more in breach rather than in observance. The successful prince never felt himself safe, as long as other claimants lived. There is no dearth of such instances where, the younger brothers always lived under the dread of death and no sooner did the ruling prince breathed his last, than the other claimants were put to death. We are aware of a certain illustrious dynasty, in which it was taken to be granted, that the heir-apperent was permitted, on his succession to the throne, by the law of convention, to put his younger brothers to sword. The retention of the authority had always been a problem and those who failed to retain it by the edge of the sword or became less vigilant, for them this drama generally ended in a tragedy.

Iyāl-Arsalān fourth on the list had two sons; Sultānshāh and Takish. It was decided by their father in his life time, that Sultānshāh, being the elder, would succeed him and Takish serve him as a loyal deputy. Iyāl Arsalān had hardly breathed his last, when Sultānshāh changed his mind and refused to admit his brother's claim. From the record at our disposal, we understand that at the outset Takish was quite willing to cooperate with his brother;

but the foolish suspicion of his unkind and inconsiderate brother compelled him to approach the Qara Khiṭā'īs, for a military help against Sultānshāh on payment of a certain amount as annual tribute. Sultānshāh was routed though, yet his desperate struggle lasted for full twenty years causing much of bloodshed, waste of energy and money to both the contestants.

Again we find that Arzalaq Sultān was proclaimed successor of 'Alā al-Dīn, despite the fact that Jalāl al-Dīn being the eldest and the ablest, was the legal heir-apparent. Had it not been for the invasion of the Mongols, there would have been no less bloodshed among the brothers than witnessed between their two ancestors. The royal courts were the hot beds of intrigues of chiefs, lending support to different claimants to royal throne, in order to obtain their own ends.

Undoubtedly, most of the Muslim kings and Sultāns were religious minded persons,—a factor which was an effective check on their waywardness, but as they were not answerable for any action to any public bodies, they were self-willed and always acted as they wished. Aristocracy as usual was the back-bone of government, and much depended on their sweet will. They were made and unmade as the circumstances dictated. The welfare of public was regarded as a sacred duty and the rulers were generally not unmindful of it. But as there existed no public opinion in those days, the government functionaries generally treated them as chattels.

Moreover, it was an important duty of monarchs to select a team of honest workers to run the administration satisfactorily. It had two main categories; the Royal Palace and Chancery. Every King maintained a guard of Turkish slaves purchased for this very purpose. Military duties were performed by the Captains of the Sultan's personal guard and the loyal Chiefs of various tribes. Had 'Alā al-Dīn Khwārazamshāh followed the advice of his nobles and his illustrious son Jalāl-al-Dīn, the surging tide of the Mongols' hordes would have been stemmed somewhere on the eastern bank of Jihūn and the world of Islam would have been

spared of this catastrophe. But the Sultan's cowardice, unnerved and paralyzed the whole Empire and though the citizens of K͟hwārazm, Marw, Nis͟hapur and many other places put up a desparate resistance to save their nears and dears, yet as the Sultan had lost balance of mind, the whole of the system collapsed like a house of card-board. Later on when Jalāl al-Dīn after bis return from India, organised a resistance, he succeeded in reconquering a large portion of his father's lost Empire and could successfully withstand the onslaughts of the Mongols for full ten years. In every individual battle that he fought against the Mongols or any other enemy, it was his personal courage which decided the issue in his favour or otherwise. We learn on the authority of Nasāwi, his biographer, that on two occassions he completely routed the Mongol's army that fought him under the personal command of C͟hingiz K͟hān, one of the greatest generals ever produced by the world.

The slaves purchased for the personel guard of Sultans were enlisted for the first year as foot-groom. After a year's service they were given a horse with a plain harness.

In the third year they were given a special belt, in the fourth, a better saddle ornamented with stars; in the fitth better clothes and a club : in the sixth they were issued a uniform; in the seventh the were raised to the rank of *wit͟haq bās͟hī* viz, commander of the tent, which he shared with three others. The insignia of this office was a felt hat embriodered in silver and gold imported from Ganjah. These officials gradually rose to the status of *k͟hayl bās͟hī* and *ḥājib*. The whole palace establishment was under the chief *ḥājib*, one of the most important dignitaries.

The next important office at the royal palace was that of *amīr-i-haras* viz. the captain of the watch. This officer was directly responsible to the Sultan for carrying out his orders against the criminals punished by the King; as to kill, to behead, to cut hands and feet, to hang, to imprison and so on. Moreover they were allowed to beat drums at the gate of their residence and to hoist a royal flag on the top of their houses.

During the Saljuqid reign the captain of the watch was assisted by fifty soldiers. Twenty of them were provided with golden rods, twenty with silver ones and ten with wooden sticks.

Besides these officers there was a large paraphernalia of petty officials like door-keepers, table-dressers, cup bearers, watchmen, drum beaters, *muṣḥaf-dārs*, *ā'inahbardār*, , *tashtdārs*, and so on.

There was at that time no distinction between civil and mililary, judicial and executive branches. The whole authority was vested in one person called governor; chiefly a military officer, and often members of royal family, princes and some time even heir-apparents filled these posts. We find that Takish during the life-time of his father acted as governor of Jand and its dependencies. Similarly Malikshāh, the heir-apparent of Takish acted for a considerable time as governor of Nishapur. Sometimes, the Turkish slaves were also appointed to act as governors as a reward for their loyal meritorious services. Anushtigīn, the founder of this dynasty and his son Quṭb al-Dīn acted as Khwarazmshāh at Khwārazm. The Turiksh slaves could not aspire for these appointments, till they were thirty five years old.

It appears that the province of Khurasan had a special importance and Nishapur was the seat of provincial government.

The government affairs were looked after by an official called *wakīl*, who had to look after the royal kitchen, wines, drinks, stable, princes and servants.

The bureaucratic system was almost fully developed and maintained the following ten departments;

1, The *dīwān* of *wazīr*, 2. *dīwān* of treasurer (*mustawfī*) 3. *dīwān* of ministry of state (*'amīd al-mulk*), 4. *dīwān* of captain of the guard (*ṣāḥib al-shurat*), 5. *dīwān* of postmaster (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*), 6. *dīwān* of *mushrif*, 7. *dīwān* of private dominions 8. *dīwān* of *muḥtasib*, 9. *dīwān* of *awqāf* 10. and *dīwān* of *qāḍī*.

Wazīr or *(khwājah-i-buzurg)* stood at the head of the whole bureaucratic system, having inkstand as insignia of his office. Niẓām al-Mulk said that the chief minister should be an honest and a

righteous person, religious-minded and reliable: as he being at the helm of the state-affairs would mould the whole government in accordance with his views. The prosperity of a kingdom and the popularity of a monarch depended on a sympathetic and good natured minister. However, he also suggested that the office of a *wazīr* like that of a king, should be hereditary from father to son, and he mentioned the case of Barmakids to support his statement. But we never come across any such example at the court of the K͟hwārazams͟hāhs. Ministers when removed from their office, generally were succeeded by their opponents.

On the authority of Nasawī, the well known biographer of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn K͟hwārzams͟hāh, we understand that in accordance with the convention of the time, the prime minister was paid one tenth of the entire income as remuneration.

The treasurer, in his importance was next to *wazīr*. His main business was to look after the replenishment of the royal treasury, and keep an uptodate account of income and expenditure. Generally there were maintained two treasuries; one maintained funds for ordinary expenses and the other had reserve funds to be used in emergencies.

The *dīwān* of the ministry of state was indentical with the *dīwān* of Royal documents. The head of this *dīwān* was called *k͟hawājah-i-'amīd*. All royal mandates were issued by him after affixing the official seal of the Sultan. *K͟hawājah-i-'amīd* had to keep the Royal Seal in his custody to aovid its misuse. None of the orders were taken as genuine without this seal in vermillion colour. An office copy was maintained in the *dīwān* for record.

The Turkis͟h and local army was under the command of captain of the guard. A civilian official called '*āriḍ*, was at the helm of departmental affairs and was directly responsible to the captain of guard for payment and proper maintenance of the army. There was no regular standing army except special guard maintained by the Sultans. Troops were provided by provincial governors to meet the emergency, whenever it arose.

They were duty-bound to keep the army in order, for internal peace and repulsion of invasion if any. All military operations were led by the Sultan in person. He embodied absolute powers as sole master of his people. He was also Chief Justice of the dominions and Commander in-Chief of royal forces.

The postal service was exclusively organised for government purposes. Its main duty was to convey instructions from capital to provinces and report back actions taken by local authorities. This *diwān* had its branches in provinces quite independent of local influence.

The *dīwān-i-mushrif* had to be fully aware of happenings in court and report them to the Sultan if necessary. He had reliable officials in every locality, who were paid from public treasury.

The *dīwān* of private domains of ruler was responsible to look after his immovable property. Expenditures of royal palace were met out of income derived from this property.

The *muḥtasīb's* duty was to maintain order in streets and *bāzars* and allow none to cheat customers. Similarly he had to fix rates of imports and exports and see that his orders were carried out faithfully and no body violated the instructions issued by him from time to time.

The *dīwān* of *awqāfs* dealt with the charities, public and private schools, monastries and hospitals. They were paid grants out of this fund and a certain percentage of the entire income was transferred towards it.

The judicial department was under the *qaḍi al-quḍat*. All complaints and claims were referred to this department for decision in the light of Islamic laws. A strict watch was kept over *qādis* lest they might become corrupt. Complaints against provincial authorities were examined by the ruler himself.

Provincial governments were having identical departments, and provincial *wazīrs* were called *ḥākims*. They were appointed by the ruler or provincial governors subject to the approval of the sovereign. Later on when bureaucracy advanced further, the

heads of departments selected their own substitutes on retirement from service.

The office of *ra'īs*, head of town was hereditory. He was the chief authority to maintain discipline, attend to people's complaints and decide disputes. He also acted as custodian of their interests and a medium to convey legitimate grievances to authorities. Similarly the orders of the sovereign were known to the people through these *ra'īses*.

As regards the prosperity of the kingdom, during the Khwārẓmian age we can safely conclude that Persia enjoyed the best of its affluence. When Bukhara was conqured by Chingīz Khān and he entered the town at the head of an army, who were in no way better than savages and barbarians, and came across for the first time in his life, the town, having majestic buildings, spacious palaces, splendid mosques, decorated shops and markets flooded with all sorts of merchandise he forgot the solemn pledges given to the citizens at the time of their surrender. He drove the inhabitants out of the city and after putting them to death, ordered the town to be ransacked so completely and thoroughly that this populous town with a population, more than six lacs of people was burnt to a handful of ashes, and for many succeeding decades there was not a single soul left to mourn this irrepairable loss. Henceforth the Chingiz's hordes never spared any town conquerred by them subsequently. So much so that they after killing the helpless inhabitants opened their bellies suspecting that they might have swallowed gold or jewels. After completely ruining the capital of Khwarazmian Empire and killing the inhabitants, they marched on Nishapur and Marw. These towns contained at that time a population of thirteen lacs and fourteen lacs respectively. The lust of riches had so much intensified, that according to historians a general massacre was ordered which side by side with the search for riches lasted for months together. It was wealth and wealth only, that enticed the Mongols to march on this unfortunate land and commit such ghastly crimes.

The founder of this dynasty started with the principality of Khwārazm, a place situated on the Oxus, a city about which Yāqūt, the great Arab Geographer who happened to be there before the Mongol invasion, writes that he had never seen a mightier city or one more wealthy or more beautiful than Khwārazm. When Sultān Muḥammad was at the zenith of his power, there was no other Muslim country at that time which could be compared favourably with his Empire in prosperity and splendour.

The chief products of this extensive Empire were food-stuff, cereals and fruits. Most of the land was fertile and grew large crops of cotton and flocks of sheep yielded wool. Great herds of cattle pastured on its green meadows. The market of the capital was famous for its costly fur, grapes, currants, figs, walnuts, almonds and pistachios. Carpets and veils both of cotton and silk stuff and coloured cloth were exported.

Many towns were in good condition and duly fortified, some of them were built of stones. In most places of strategic importance, lofty and strong castles were built, roads and streets were in good condition and some of them were of course, paved with stones. There was no lack of mills, hotels, inns, baths, schools, libraries, monastries and other buildings of public utility. Extensive and beautiful gardens were seen around towns. Cities were very populated and in some cases even-crowded and people were generally well to do, and lived in plenty and abundance.

CHAPTER VII

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING STATES AND THE CALIPHATE

The diplomatic relations of the Khwārazmshāhs with the neighbouring states including[1] the Caliphate of Baghdād, were far from friendly. The spirit of the time was such that to maintain relations, good or bad with the sister states was the dictate of necessity, rather than that of policy. They sometimes, of course, faithfully adhered to their obligations as long as it suited their convenience and personal ends. But the moment they felt otherwise, no scruples were considered strong enough to obstruct them from committing hideous diplomatic offences Itciz, third on the list, was the first Khwārazmshāh who was permitted by Sanjar to proceed to Khwārazm. The revenue of this principality was meant to defray the expenses of purveyorship in the same manner as those of Khuzistān were assigned to wardrobe.[2] The Khwārazmshāhs were represented by their deputies in the territory assigned to them, while they themselves remained at the Saljuqid Court. It was in 524/1130, that Tamghāch Khān the ruler of Transoxiana revolted against Sultan Sanjar who had to march against him.[3] During this expedition Itciz saved the Sultan from his rebel nobles.

1 During the reign of 'Ala al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh the political relations between the Caliphate and his court were at their worst. The main cause was Caliph's refusal to accede to the Sultan's request as to grant him a mandate of authority over his domains after the death of his father Takish as it was considered necessary in these days. Similarly the Sultan, as stated by Juwayni was bitter, as the Caliph had refused to read *Khuṭbah* in the name of the Sultan. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, 145 ; Juwayni, Vol. II, 130.

2 Major Raverty in his English translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, p. 233.*

3 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. II, p. 94 ; Juwayni, p. 3 ; *Jāmi' Tawārīkh*, f. 1003, *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, f. 164.

This incident brought them much near to each other, and the Sultan out of sheer appreciation of his loyalty allowed him, quite contrary to the old practice, to proceed to Khwārazm.[1] The moment he arrived at his principality, he felt disaffected and stopped sending annual tribute to his royal benefactor. At last the Sultan marched against his ungrateful vassal.

From a minute study of Itciz's career, we can safely conclude that he was an opportunist and a highly ambitious monarch. Having lived at the royal court, shrewd and keen observer as he was, he had been fully convinced of the approaching end of the tottering empire of the mighty Saljuqids and hence all his efforts were devoted to hasten the unhappy end of the descendants of illustrious Malik Shāh. The traditions established by the founder of this dynasty were faithfully adhered to by his successors and it was due only to their inexpendiency and opportunism that about a century later the inhabitants of the entire Central Asia fell a victim to the cruel sword of the blood-thirsty Mongols.[1]

Iyāl Arsalān, the successor of Itciz quite unlike his ambitious father maintained cordial relations with the house of his benefactors. The reasons for this change of policy are twofold. Firstly successor of Itciz was temperamentally a peace-loving ruler and disliked to cross swords with his immediate neighbours. Secondly Sanjar had died and was succeeded by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad who was a non-entity and a shadow of his terrible ancestor. Iyāl Arsalān could easily foresee that the time was not far off when this extensive empire would fall into his lap like a ripe fruit. Throughout the whole period of seventeen years of his rule he never felt any need to come to blows with his erstwhile masters. Moreover the independence of the house of Khwārazmshāh was an established fact then, and there was hardly any need to shed blood. The Khwārazmshāh focussed his attention on the consolidation of his kingdom, which was of course an absolute necessity after thirty years of war waged by his deceased royal father.

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1 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 4.

On the occasion when Itciz had stopped paying annual tribute to Sanjar, and the Sultan in order to break his unruly purveyor had marched against[1] him and had inflicted a crushing defeat on him, the Qarā Khiṭā'is[2] had also made an incursion into his territory. The Khwārazmshāh finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, had entered into an agreement with the infidels and promised to pay thirty thousand gold pieces annually to the invaders. Circumstances compelled Itciz to abide by this humiliating agreement. The shortsightedness of Iyāl Arsalān prevented him from paying this amount to the Qarā Khiṭā. A war ensued in which the Khwārazmshāh was routed and forced to pay the tribute.[3] However, within a year of this war and before his death, Iyāl Arsalān was successful in restoring smooth diplomatic relations with the Qarā Khiṭā'is.

On the death of Iyāl Arsalān, a civil war ensued between his sons Sulṭānshāh and 'Alā al-Dīn Takish, for an upper hand. But Sultanshāh though a minor, being at Khwārazm at the demise of his father, had ascended the throne, through the influence of his mother who had been in league with the nobles of her late-royal husband. They tried to compel Takish to yeild to force. Takish with the help of the Gurkhān of Qarā Khiṭa on the promise of payment of a certain amount as annual tribute, besides the thirty

1 Sanjar had to march against Itciz twice; Once in 538/1143 and again in 543/1147 and it was on the first occasion that he had sought the help of the Qarā Khitā'is. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 88.

2 They originally belonged to *Khitā*, a province of China. A group of eighty persons migrated and settled at Qarqir, from where, later on they moved to Balasqun the Capital of Turkistan. After sometime they turned the Khān of Turkistan out and succeeded him. They were a virile tribe and it did not take them long to acquire an important position, so much so that all the neighbouring states acknowledged their over-lordship. Their seat of the government was at Utrar/Faryab. Their rule lasted for 395 years and they were exterminated by 'Ala al-Dīn in 607/1210. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 94.

3 The late Khwārazmshāh on his defeat, had promised to pay the tribute withheld; but owing to his prolonged illness he was unable to fulfil his promise during his life-time. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 16.

thousand gold *dinārs* already being paid to the infidels of Qarā Khiṭā defeated his rivals and ascended the throne. The diplomatic relations between the house of the Khwārazmshāh and that of the Qarā Khiṭā'is became better. This was nothing but a dictate of necessity. The immediate successor of Takish, the mighty 'Alā al-Dīn who was a very powerful monarch of his time had been also fully alive to the urgency of those relations and therefore even at the zenith of his power went on paying this tribute, though much against his wishes.

The vast empire of the Saljuqids had disintegrated and a larger portion of it had passed to Mu'ayyid[1] who had established himself in Nishapur. As Sultānshāh after his defeat at the hands of Takish, had taken shelter with Mu'ayyid, the relations between them were soon strained which resulted in an exchange of blows. Finding himself in hot waters, Sultānshāh ran away to Firūzkūh to seek the help of the Ghurids. Although Sultānshāh failed to induce the Ghurids to lend him any military help to restore him to his lost throne, yet his visit created grave misunderstanding in the mind of the Khwārazmshāh, which brought in its trail a series of unending miseries and disasters of war.

Having been disappointed at Firūzkūh, Sultānshāh approached the Qarā Khiṭā'is for military help against his rival brother. The dipiomatic relations between the Qarā Khiṭā'is and the Khwārazmshāhs had been marred by the execution of an envoy of the Qarā-Khiṭā'is by Ṭakish in a fit of anger. The queen of the Qarā Khiṭā'is took advantage of the fratricidal conflict and sent an army of 30,000 to help Sultānshāh.[2] But Funa the commander-in-chief of

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1 Mu'ayyid was a slave at the court of Sanjar. When the Sultan died in 552/1157, his opportunist slave established himself at Nishapur as its ruler. He governed it successfully for a pretty long time, till he was killed by Takish in 569/1174. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 18; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 138; Ibn al-Athīr Vol. XI, p. 169.

2 The name of the queen's husband was Funa. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 19; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, f. 166.

the heathen army withdrew[1] his forces and made off without cutting much ice. Soon after normal diplomatic relations were restored and Takish went on paying the annual tribute of thirty thousand gold *dinārs* as usual.

Having failed in his designs against his brother, Sultānshāh realized the futility of his efforts and set out for Khurasan and succeeded in establishing himself in Marw, after defeating Tughānshāh.[2]

There was great turmoil and disorder in Khurāsān: Takish, in order to incorporate as much of the land as possible, made an incursion therein. But Sultānshāh, having heard of his brother's absence, at once marched on Khwārazm and tried to woo the people. The inhabitants paid no attention to his overtures. The Khwārazmshāh having learnt of his unkind and ambitious brother's attack on Khwārazm invaded Marw. The siege of his capital forced Sultanshāh to raise the siege of Khwārazm and to set out immediately to save his own seat of government.[3]

In the spring of 584/1188, Takish celebrated a royal festival in the well known meadows of Badkhshān, and this was for the first time that envoys of Sultānshāh also attended the function and requested the Khwārazmshāh to settle their disputes amicably. Takish received the offer with open arms and magnanimously overlooked the shortcomings of his disloyal and unkind brother. But Sultānshāh was a most unreliable man and it was impossible for him to abide by any agreement however sacred it might be. Once again Takish had to march against him to keep him within bounds. But the more the Khwārazmshāh tried to reform his ungrateful brother the more he went astray and created trouble for Takish. This unhappy

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XI, p. 169.

2 Tughānshāh was the son of Mu'yyid Aybah who had succeeded his father after he was murdered by Takish. Sultan Shāh attacked him incessantly. Tughānshāh was no match for him. His nobles, being disappointed crossed the floor; and Tughānshāh died highly disappointed in 582. Ibn-i-Athīr-, Vol. XI, p. 169.

3 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 21.

chapter was closed only when Sultānshāh at last breathed his last on the 29th *Ramaḍān*, 589/29th September 1193.[1]

This interval of twenty one years was a period of great uneasiness and uncertainty. Both the brothers instead of consolidating their possessions, and extending their dominions, wasted away their energy in the destruction of each other, devoted their resources on fratricide and left no stones unturned to achieve their unholy objective. Although the role played by the Khwārazmshāh was defensive and he, of course, tried his level best to make his brother see the light of reason, yet he himself was not altogether innocent. Anyhow on the death of Sultānshāh, the Khwārazmshāh heaved a sigh of relief and assumed the title of Sultan.

Apart from his unruly brother, Takish had to deal with the infidels of Qarā Khiṭā, Ṭughril[2] the Saljuqid, the Ghurid brothers and many other small states. The small states had no status in the politics of those days. In order to save themselves, they had to ally with one or the other powerful state, and it was not unoften that they were attacked by the sister states for no fault of theirs and given a good shaking. The sword of DEMOCLESE had been always hanging on their heads and they never felt free of the fear of being totally wiped out.

The Qarā Khiṭā'is were benefactors of Takish and he in his heart of hearts, of course, wanted to pull on with them amicably. Though more than once he was compelled by the turn of circumstances to cross swords with them, yet on the whole his relations with them had been friendly. So much so that the envoys of the Qarā Khiṭā who annually visited the court of the Khwārazmshāh generally behaved in a most insolent way. But he always tried to

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1 Juwayni, Vol. II, pp. 28-29.

2 Tughril II, belonged to that branch of the Saljuqids, which ruled Iraq and Kurdistan. The name of the founder of this branch was Mughith al-Dīn Maḥmūd (511-525/1117-1171). Tughril II was well-known for his bravery and prowess. He was killed by Inānaj, a noble of Takish in 590/1194. Juwayni, Vol. II, pp. 29-30 ; *Farmānrawāyān-i-Islām*, p. 173.

nave a smooth sailing and not to disrupt the day-to-day dealings with them. The connivance of the Khwārazmshāh had encouraged them to such an extent that once they insulted him in the presence of his nobles in such a way that Takish flew into a rage and ordered as already stated, their execution there and then. These incidents were rare and the rival armies though measured their strength against each other, yet it was the Khwārazmshāh's earnest desire to avoid clash with them. He was a shrewd and keen observer and fully realized the value of the friendship of the Qarā Khiṭā'is who served as a strong barrier between him and the savage hordes of Tatars. We learn on the authority of reliable source that Takish had impressed, time and again, on his son, the crown-prince, the importance of these relations and had advised the prince to go on paying the annual tribute of thirty thousand gold *dīnārs*. We understand that as long as 'Alā al-Dīn acted upon the advice of his sagacious father, his star was in the ascendant. But the moment he faltered, he landed Islam into a catastrophe unparalleled in the history of any nation.

As already stated, the Saljquid empire was on its last legs and the Sultan was anxiously waiting for an opportune moment to strike the last blow. The rising power of the house of the Khwārazmshāh was an eye sore for the Caliph of Baghdād and it was he who was exciting Ṭughril the Saljuqid and the Ghurid brothers against Takish in order to crush this budding power of Central Asia The Saljuqid Sultans in the hey-day of their glory were so powerful that the Caliphs of Baghdād were puppets in their hands and they were forced to read *khuṭbah* on Fridays in their names. On the death of Sanjar this practice was discontinued and Al-Ẓāhir bi-Allāh (A. D. 1180-1215) was not much wrong in his apprehension that Takish who was raising the structure of his empire on the ruins of the mighty Saljuqid House would one day claim that the *khuṭbah* should be read in his name. The Caliph in exciting Ṭughril and the Ghurid brothers had a two-fold object in view; firstly to creat enmity among all those neighbouring states which could do him any harm, at any time in future, and secondly to

weaken all the fighting states especially the young state of Khwārazm which was taking long strides towards progress, under the able guidance of Takish. This secret move of the Caliph bore fruit, and the Khwārazmshāh was pressed so hard by Ṭughril and the Ghurid brothers that he could have no breathing space to think of anything else. They had been constantly hammering at the gates of Khwārazm almost at regular intervals in order to prevent him from consolidating his own position. Ṭughrrl the Saljuqid was well known for his prowess and was regarded as one of the best soldiers of his time. He had once crossed sword with the Khwārazmshāh and was defeated. Having already suffered a defeat at his hands, he repented his hasty action, compromised with the Sultan and passed on the province of Rayy to him as indemnity of war. When the news reached the Caliph of Baghdād, he entered into correspondence with Ṭughril and succeeded once again in hurding him against the Sultan. Tamghāch was acting as Takish's deputy in Rayy. Ṭughril attacked him and turned him out of Rayy. Later Ṭughril was killed and his head was sent to the Caliph of Baghdād on whose instigation he had attacked Takish, and his body was exposed on a gibbet in the square of Rayy.[1] As the diplomatic relations in those days were generally governed by personal motives, they, therefore, lacked stability and none of the parties seriously and earnestly desired to abide by the agreements made.

As already pointed out the Caliphs of Baghdād in those days were a shadow of their mighty ancestors and thus were often used as a pawn by the ambitious rulers. As Takish by that time had annexed a larger portion of the Saljuqid empire and had killed Ṭughril, he felt a little relieved. The Caliph of Baghdād had played a very important role in staging this drama of bloodshed and hostility, and in inciting all the neighbouring states against the Khwārazmshāh. Takish was fully conversant with all that was happening around him and knew the man responsiple for his worries. Having disposed of Ṭughril, the Sultan in order to meet the

1 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 31.

Caliph on his own ground put in a demand, that since the Saljuqid empire had been liquidated, he was entitled to all the privileges and rights they had had. The *khuṭbah* in those days was read in the name of the Saljuqid Sultan, the practice should be reintroduced without further delay. He was most unwilling to put this yoke around his neck, once that he had got rid of it on the collapse of the Saljuqid house. The Caliph instead put up a counter-demand in respect of a considerable slice of Irāq[1] and pressed Takish to accept its validity. The were relations strained futher and preparations were afoot on both sides to decide the issue at the point of sword. Twice the rival armies met, and on both the occasions the Caliph had to eat a humble pie. As the prestige of the Caliphate had reached its lowest ebb and the Sultan was pressing his demand all the more, the crafty Caliph at last hit upon another plan in order to appease the Sultan. In previous days when the Caliphate was at the height of its glory whenver the Caliphs wanted to honour a sister Muslim state, they conferred a robe of honour on the ruler of that state. These robes of honour were held in great esteem by the Muslim Sultans and there were not a few who actually yearned for it. Even Maḥmūd of Ghaznah whose greateness hardly needed any appendage to supplement it, felt extremely happy on the receipt of this honour from Baghdād. The Caliph having failed in his military adventure against the Sultan, decided to resort to this age-long tried weapon. He deputed one of his ministers, Mu'ayyid al-Din b. 'Ali al-Qaṣṣāb to proceed to Khwārazm and stage the show successfully. Even at this stage robe of honour of the Commander of the Faithful was a rare thing. But the muddle-headed minister completely failed in his mission. When he arrived at Asadābād, a city on the frontier of Irāq, about ten thousand Arabs assembled arround him and he quite impertinently asked the Sultan to receive him (the minister) personally and walk bareheaded alongwith his nobles in front of his horse as a mark of respect to His Holiness the Commander of the Faithful. In order to bring him to his senses, the Sultan

1 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. XII, p. 50.

troop of soldiers who frightened him away. The minister made off for Kohistan and the device fell through.[1]

At a later stage, once again, the Caliph used this trump card and his delegates with a robe of honour and a mandate to confer the rule of Khurāsān, Turkistan and[2] Irāq on Ṭakish arrived at Khwārazm. As all the three provinces were already under the sway of the Khwārazmshāh, the Caliph's mandate meant nothing. The Caliph however realized that his demand for a slice of Irāq was absurd and that Ṭakish was too powerful to appease his (the Caliph's) territorial hunger. The position after all to some extent eased and both the parties heaved a sigh of relief.

The Ghurid brothers, Shihāb al-Din and Ghiyāth al-Din, had been playing all along, the game of the Caliph of Baghdād. Several times they had measured their strength against the Sultan, but despite their being seasoned soldiers, they could not cut much ice. The fall of Ṭughril and the crushing defeat suffered by the Caliph had opened their eyes. Although their apprehensions of the Sultan's designs were not altogather baseless, yet they repented and wished to bring about a conciliation between the Caliph and the Khwārazmshāh, and play the role of peace-makers. They advised the Sultan to behave towards the Caliph of Baghdād, who was the religious head of the entire Muslim *millat* and who of course, was entitled to this much of regard by virtue of his high offices. Their efforts bore fruit and the tempers that had run so high cooled down for some time.[3]

The followers of Ḥasan b. Sabbāḥ were also an important

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 50. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 33.

Once again the Caliph's minister, in 592/1196, met the Sultan's forces at Hamadan. He was again routed and finally put to death. His head was sent to the Sultan. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 39.

2 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 49 ; Ibn Al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 65.

3 It was on this occasion that the Ghurid brothers had advised the Sultan to compensate for the losses suffered by the Caliph at the hands of the Qarā Khiṭā'is. But Takigh attached no importance to it. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 65 ; Abu al-Fida, Vol. III, p. 93.

factor in the politics of that period especially in Central Asia. His followers who were called *fidā'īs*, were notorious for their obnoxious activities and many contemporary rulers had fallen victim to their indiscriminating dagger. The neighbouring princes were over-awed with fear. But the dauntless Ṭakish was an exception to it. As the Assassins who were next-door neighbours to the Sultan were not behaving properly, Ṭakish had to march against them. A siege was laid to one of their strongholds called Arsalan-kushā. The fort was opened after a siege of four months, which dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the Assassins. They having been under the impression that the invasion was undertaken on the instignation of Niẓām al-Mulk Shams al-Dīn Hariwah, the prime minister of the Sultan, and their deadly enemy they stabbed him to death. The unfortunate incident pained the Sultan so much that he ordered Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad, his son, to march against them. He advanced at Turshiz and laid siege to it. The Sultan himself, in the meanwhile, also had made preparations to reinforce the crown-prince, but all of a sudden he fell ill. Though he recovered soon, yet he was advised by the royal physician, in view of the seriousness of the disease, to remain confined to his bed. But as the Sultan wanted to inflict an exemplary punishment on his inhuman cruel neighbours, he ignored the warning of the physicians and set out on this expedition. The trouble recurred and the Sultan being week, could not withstand its onslaught and breathed his last.[1]

It will not be out of place to mention here Ṭakish's cordial relationship with the house of Qipchāq, who helped him a lot in reducing most of the neighbourig states. It was a virile tribe of nomad Turks to which belonged the Senior Queen of the Sultan, named Turkān Khātūn. She was an arrogant and strong-willed lady who frequently interfered with the administration of the country and poor Ṭakish could not raise even his little finger to oppose her. The Sultan tolerated all this for the sake of the

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 74 ; Abū al-Fidā, Vol. III, p. 98 ; Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 46.

Queen's tribe who always fought for him. But as a matter of fact this unruly militant tribe during the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Sultan's successor, contributed more to the disintegration of the empire than to its consolidation. They of course out of sheer regard for the Queen, never grudged to lay down their lives just to carry out the ambitious plans of the Khwārazmshāh. But they were most unreliable friends having no scruples to follow and no principles to adhere to.

With this rotten and depraved back-ground Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad the crown-prince stepped into the shoes of Takish under the name of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh.[1] The seed of discard sown by his predecessors developed to its full growth during the reign of the inexpedient and unlucky Sultan, which ended in the complete destruction of the vast empire of the Khwārazmshāh and an unprecedented massacre of ten million of innocent Muslims. In consequences of this suicidal policy, the entire world of Islam paid very dearly, till all the traces of its age-long civilisation and culture were completely wiped out by the Mongol hordes.

'Alā al-Din was the most dreadful and powerful prince of this formidable House. When he ascended the throne the mighty empire of Ghur was still in the hands of Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad who as usual, was unfriendly towards the Khwārazmian dynasty. The death of Takish induced the Ghurid Sultan to lead an expedition against the young Khwārazmshāh, whom he took for a raw and an inexperienced young man and wanted to crush him at the outset. Necessary instructions were issued by the Ghurid Sultan to Muḥammad Jarik, the commander-in-chief of his army who was regarded the best warrior of his time, to make an incursion into his domains in Khurāsān. Muḥammad Jarik, for the time being, succeeded in annexing a large slice of this province. But this gallant warrior was defeated by one of the Sultan's commanders and put to death. His death dealt a deadly[2] blow to the

1 *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*. Vol. IV, p. 153; *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, f. 177; *Al-Sirat li-ǎalal al-Din*, p. 48.

2 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 52.

tottering Ghurid House. Shihāb al-Dīn at this critical juncture, was in India on one of his military expeditions and while returning home had fallen a victim to the treacherous danger of a murderer. This was another blow which the Ghurid House could hardly bear. Earlier Shihāb al-Dīn with a huge army which contained a large nnmber of elephants had attacked the Khwārazmshāh and was completely defeated by the alliance of Khwārazmshāh and Qarā Khitā'is. Sultan Uthmān the ruler of Samarqand intervened, and Shihāb al-Dīn was allowed to proceed to his kingdom leaving all his belongings there. This blow was the severest of its kind which reduced the prestige of Shihāb al-Dīn to zero. Soon afterwards the Sultan died and the mighty House of the Ghurids virtually collapsed.[1]

The death of Shihāb al-Dīn was a God-sent boon for the Khwārazmshāh. Right from the right bank of the Oxus upto the left bank of the river Sindh, no rival power was left. The chiefs and the petty rulers of the small states in the province of Khurāsān were on their last legs. The ambitious Khwārazmshāh was waiting for a suitable opportunity to incorporate them in his own empire. By and by, state after state began to fall, and in a few years' time the principalities of Tirmidh[2], Tāliqān and Sijistān were taken over by the Sultan.

Besides the Caliph of Baghdād, the Qara Khitā'is were the only big power in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sultan. Itciz, the Sultan's grand-father, after his defeat at the hands of Sanjar was restored to his throne with the help of the Qarā Khiṭā'is and it was since then that the Khwārazmshāh had been paying regularly the annual tribue of thiry thousand *dīnars* to the infidels.

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1 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 58 ; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 145 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 102.

2 Tirmidh was governed by the son of Imām al-Din, the Governor of Balkh. He Surrendered without fight. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 107.

Taliqan was governed by one, Sunaj, on behalf of the Ghurids. It was conquered by the Sultan. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Sajistan was ruled by Harb b. Muhammad. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Even 'Alā al-Dīn abided by this humiliating condition in the heyday of his power and always tried to avoid clash with them. On the fall of the Ghurid empire, when the Sultan liquidated the mushroom states that had sprung up in his neighbourhood, the Qarā Khiṭā'īs smelt a rat and suspected his intentions. Soon the Sultan made amends and passed on the province of Tirmidh to the Qarā Khiṭā'īs to allay their suspicions.[1] This step was taken by the Sultan to camouflage his designs. The Qarā Khiṭā'īs were highly undesireable neighbours and extremely unscrupulous in their dealings with the sister-states in diplomatic affairs. They often invaded the territory of the Sultan and heaped insults on him. It was customary with them that an envoy of them every year attended the Sultan's court at Khwārazm. According to the terms of the agreement, the envoy was entitled to sit on the throne by the side of the Sultan in the open court. As most of these envoys were uncultured and uncivilized people, it was not unoften that they behaved insolently towards the Sultan. Once an envoy of the Qarā Khiṭā'īs named Tūshī arrived at the court of the Khwārazmshāh, and foolishly behaved in such a disrespectful way before the Sultan, that he flew into a rage and ordered his execution then and there. The diplomatic relations were severed and both the parties in right earnest started preparations for a war. It was a happy coincidence that a deputation of the Muslims of Bukhara who were suffering at the hands of their unkind masters, the Qarā Khiṭā'īs, waited upon 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad and requested him to come to their help. Moreover Sultan Uthmān, the ruler of Samarqand, who was disaffected with the Qarā Khiṭā'īs for the time being, prevailed upon the Sultan and induceds him to invade the infidels. The Sultan invaded Bukhara and as the inhabitants were in league with the invaders, the Qarā Khiṭā'īs lost the city and had to flee with their lives.[2]

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1 The Sultan's action was highly disapproved by the Muslims one and all. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 108 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 102.

2 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XII, p. 121 ; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. V, p. 103 ; Abū al-Fidā, Vol. III, p. 110.

When the news of the rout of Qarā Khitā'is, at the hands of the Sultan reached Kashli Khān, the ruler of Chinese Turkistān, he in order to strike a decisive blow on them marched against them. Both the parties approached the Sultan for help. As 'Alā al-Dīn was not certain of the success of any of the parties, he secretly promised to help both the parties and arriving in the vicinity of the battle-field, encamped there to await his chance. The battle started and soon ended in the rout of the Qarā Khiṭā'is. The Sultan at this stage stepped in to help Kashlī Khān[1] compeleting the rout of the infidels. This was the last nail in the coffin of this virile tribe of Turks who had been a terror for all the Muslim states in the Central Asia for more than a century and a half.

The third important power in the politics of those times was the Caliphate of Baghdād. The Caliph since the very inception of the House of the Khwārazmshāhs was not favourably disposed towards them.[2] During the reign of Takish, the Caliph's force had exchanged blows with the Sultan's army, but as a more urgent matter had cropt up the issue was not pursued further. On the occasion of the fall of Ghaznin at the hands of the Sultan's deputy a letter of the then-Caliph of Baghdād was found in the royal treasury addressed to the Ghurid brothers inciting them to carry on a regular war of nerves against the Khwārazmshāh. Again the Caliph had been communicating secretly with Muḥammad Yalwaj, the prime minister of Chingīz Khān to induce the great Khān to march against 'Alā al-Dīn. Thirdly, the Caliph on the occasion of the last pilgrimage had placed the Sultan's flag borne by the caravan of the pilgrim belonging to his state, behind that of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, the ruler of the heretícts of Alamūt, who had lately become an orthodox Muslim. Fourthly the Caliph had hired the services of a squad of *fidā'īs* to assasinate the Khwārazmshāh. These were the main causes of the Sultan's indignation and resent-

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1 Juwayni, Vol. II, pp. 106-107.

2 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 121.
Rawḍat al-Ṣafā, Vol. IV, p. 149.

ment, and he therefore had made up his mind to wreak his vengeance on the crafty Caliph.

The Caliph still exercised an immense influence upon the mind of Muslim world as a rightful successor of the holy Prophet and as a Commander of the faithful. The Sultan in order to beat him on his own ground adopted the theory that as long as any direct descendant of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī lived the descendant of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib could not be regarded as rightful Caliph. He therefore declared the Caliph of Baghdād as deposed and installed in his place a Sayyid from Tirmidh, named 'Alā al-Mulk and introduced his name in *khuṭbah*. But the Abbasids were so deeply rooted in the minds of the people on account of their long association with the Caliphate, that it was not possible for the Khwārazmshāh to uproot them. Omission of the name of the Caliph of Baghdād from the *khuṭbah* led to so much uproar throughout the Sultan's realm that there was the fear of an uprising in the empire and therefore the scheme had to be dropped.[1]

Having failed in his queer design the Sultan at the head of an army of three hundred thousand strong marched on Baghdād and reaching Hamadan encamped there. The Caliph having been afraid of the Sultan's revenge deputed Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, a great saint and a theologian, to act as a messenger of peace[2] but the Sultan refused to come to a compromiss with the Caliph.

'Alā al-Dīn with his huge army reached Hulwān, a mountainous pass situated near Asadābād. Severe cold and snow-fall destroyed almost all the cattle in the Sultan's army and a huge number of his men. The unforeseen disaster utterly frustrated the Sultan's programme and compelled him to forego his expedition for the time being.

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1 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 92. *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 149.

2 It is stated by *Rawḍat al-Ṣafa*, (Vol. IV, p. 152) that he treated him rudly so much so, that he was not allowed even to sit.

The Sultan was at the zenith of his power at this time, and temporary set-back at the hands of natural, forces failed to open his eyes and his confidence in his own greatness remained unshaken. He had become haughty, arrogant and presumptuous. By the elimination of the Qarā Khiṭā'is, the Great Khān of the Mongols had become the immediate neighbour of 'Alā al-Dīn Muhammad. Chingiz Khān, though several times was approached secretly by the envoys of the Caliph of Baghdād to march on the Khwārazmshāh, yet he appreciated his military achievements in the heart of his hearts and wished to be on friendly terms with him. He, therefore, deputed Maḥmūd al-Khwārazmi 'Alī Khwājah al-Bukhārī and Yūsuf Kanka al-Utrāri to wait upon the Sultan and request him to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with him. The envoys also have had a letter from the Great Khān addressed to the Khwārazmshāh in which he had praised him for his glorious deeds and wrote that he regarded him as his son and was proud of his achievements. The Sultan resented his innocent remarks and began to cherish evil designs against him. Soon afterwards information was received from the governor of Utrār, a military outpost that a large number of Chingīz's spies disguised as traders had arrived at Utrār and the Sultan's advice on the point was sought.[1]

The Sultan, misled by the governor without proper inquiry ordered that all the spies of the Khān should be dealt with accordingly.[2] The orders were carried to the letter, and all the traders except one were beheaded by the cruel governor and their property was confiscated. Chingiz lodged a strong protest with the Khwārazmshāh and demanded that the governor of Utrār should be handed over to him. The Sultan in order to add insult to injury, abused the messengers of the Khān, shaved their beards and put the leader of the party to the sword. When the Khān learnt of this misdeed of the Sultan, his anger knew no bounds and made up his mind to

1 *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 496.

2 Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 102, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

pay him in his own coin.[1]

The Sultan, being under the spell of the Court's astrologers who had advised him to avoid a clash with Chingīz, instead of mustering his forces to face the enemy, divided them in three parts to defend Utrār, Samarqand and Bukhara, and himself marched to Khurasan to recruit more men. The nobles of the court and the crown-prince Jalāl al-Dīn did all they could, to dissuade the Sultan from following the disgraceful course, but in vain. So much so that the crown-prince requested the Sultan to retire from active life and leave the rest to him. The superstitious Sultan could not be prevailed upon and he went on running before the Mongols from one end to the other for full two years till he breathed his last in an island of the Caspean Sea.[2]

The more closely we study the life-story of this unfortunate and ill-starred Khwārazmshāh, the more sure we become of his stupidity and precipitate actions throughout his career. We hold no brief for this imprudent despot who invited the barbarious horde of Mongols A little sober and calm thinking on his part would have definitely saved the Muslims from that dreadful catastrophe which had no parallel in the history of any nation of the world.

Populous and prosperous cities like Nishapur and Marw, the centres of trade and commerce were literally razed to the ground. Khwārazm, the metropolis of the empire met a fate much harder than that of Nishapur and Marw. Bukhara, a centre of religious and secular sciences was burnt to ashes and no quarter was given to anyone; the young and old the men and women were butchered one and all

Jalāl al-Dīn succeeded his father in 619/1220. The new Sultan had no ground to stand on, no shelter to protect him, and no friend to trust in. Jalāl al-Dīn on this occasion tried his level best to appeal to the fair sense of the sister states to smell the danger

1 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 34. Juwayni, Vol. II, p. 102.

2 *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 37. *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, f. p. 170.

that was gaining momentum and to strengthen his position and co-operate with him to face a common foe. But the father's sins were visited on the son and the poor Jalāl al-Dīn had to reap what 'Alā al-Dīn had sown. Nobody paid attention to his entreaties; rather they suspected his intentions. The Sultan set out to Bagh-dād to approach the Commander of faithful personally and apprise him of the danger that was gathering force. The Caliph unfortunately had been hurt so much by the late-Sultan that he refused even to grant an audience to Jalāl al-Dīn, and urgently deputed one of his commanders to frighten away the Sultan. As the Great Khān considered Jalāl al-Dīn a potent danger, he was chasing Jalāl al-Dīn closely to afford him no breathing space. The Sultan set out for Ghaznin to move to India to find a foothold there. The great Khān was encamping at Barwān when the news of Sultan's departure to India was brought to him. He could clearly see through the plan and atonce decamped and followed him. The Sultan was overtaken on the bank of the Sindh a little below the Nilāb called Ghora-Tar p and was defeated. He crossed over to the other side.

The Sultan stayed in India[1] for about two years. He tried his level best to prevail upon Iltutmish to give him military assistance, but in vain. Having failed there he returned to his native land. The circumstances in Transoxiana and Khurasan had not altered much and the Sultan to recaputre the territory lost by his father had to fight a tenacious and deadly foe. The vast and unstable empire of his father had been lost to him to the inch and he had to surmount heavy odds and face difficult obstacles. The Sultan, did his best to subdue the rulers of the mushroom states that had sprung up after the fall of the Khwārazmshāhs.

When his political influence began to spread far and wide all the neighbouring states, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, joined hands to devise means to guard against the Sultan's aggression.

1 Very little is known about the Sultan's activities during his stay in India except a passing remark by the author of *al-Fatuḥāt al-Islāmiyah*, p. 231.

They were not much wrong to suppose that the Sultan could not be safely trusted. The late-Sultan was notorious in this respect. He had committed flagrant breach of solemn faith with all those chiefs who had signed any pacts with him. With this ugly background Jalāl al-Dīn had to make all out efforts to regain the lost position and to inspire confidence in the disaffected states. The Sultan undoutedly had to face a life-and-death struggle and before embarking on a grim expedition of such a magnitude he ought to have pacified all those brother-rulers who harboured any grudge against his late-father. On many critical occassions he appealed in vain to all the Muslim states inclusive of the Caliph of Baghdad. Though his fatner's misdeeds had extremely prejudiced the public opinion against him, yet he himself also was seldom counciliatory and therefore cannot be absolved of the responsibility that rested on his shoulders. Although the Muslim rulers in the heart of their hearts knew it for certain that the Sultan was the only person who could successfully stem the Mongols' rising tide and that he was the only champion of light and civilization against the forces of darkness and barbarity, yet they were so afraid of him that they made a common cause against him; so such so, that most of them were in actual sympathy with the heathen and blood-thirsty Mongols, writing letters and inviting them to attack their saviour. This state of affairs is a sad commentary on the diplomacy of the Sultan. He failed to appreciate the bankruptcy of his strategy and never reconsidered his line of action, till his career after a dreadful struggle of ten years ended in utter failure.

The Sultan's rashness requires no comments. He never avoided clash however, unprepared he would be. He always underrated the strength of his enemy and never hesitated to hazard a fight, however unequal it might be. While leaving for India he fought[1] a battle at Barwan against the Mongols in almost unprepared condition and with a highly untrained and unequipped army.

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1 Ibn Khaldūn, V. 130, *Al-Sirat li Jalāl al-Dīn*, 80, *Jami' al-Tawārīkh* f. 1025.

At one time when he was fighting against the Gurjis, he learnt that Buraq Ḥājib was advancing on Iraq. Jalāl al-Din started at once to catch him napping. The Sultan after a tiresome march of seventeen days, was on Buraq with a contingent of three hundred soldiers only.[1] Thanks to the Sultan's star that the scuffle did not take place and the Sultan escaped the dire consequences of another hazarduous ventur. The Sultan's confidence in his personal valour was another cause of his diffidence towards diplomatic relations. He never believed in expediency and cared very little for the feelings of others.

There is no doubt about it, that once or twice the Sultan sincerely tried to patch up differences with the Muslim states at least but the wedge had gone too deep to be withdrawn and the gulf of ill-will had become too wide to be abridged. Jalāl al-Dīn had to fight on many fronts which in view of the insufficient means was next to impossible. Having been dejected by the hostile attitude of the Muslim states he set out on his programme to devour all the neighbouring states one by one and thus build up an army which could withstand the onslaught of his tenacious and relentless enemy. The sister states soon smelt a rat and started negotiations with the Mongols who oppreciated the idea. At last the inevitable happened and the last bulwark of Islam who had stood like a mighty rock against the ever-rising surges of heathenism and who had manfully braved every danger, perished. "We are for God and have to return into Him."

The dynasty of the Khwārazshāh had come into being in 470/1077 and ended in 628/1231 after a brief span of one hundred and fifty four years. It is a crystal-clear fact that the fall of this illustrious dynasty was, to a large extent, due to defective foreign policy. There is no doubt that they were brave warriors and gallant soldiers, but it is a pity that they failed to realize that "the pen is mightier than the sword."

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1 *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 501.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY IN KHWARAZM

Due to natural resources, a network cf canals that were dug throughout the country, favourable climatic conditions and extensive internal and external profits earned by the trading class, the people of the Khwārazmian empire had been fairly well-off: hence we find the development of material prosperity accompanied by that of intellectual pursuits. There was hardly any branch of science of which there was not a considerably large number of soholars. especially at Khwārazm, the seat of the government. Even prior to the period under review, Khwārazm had produced two scholars of very great repute. One of them was Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmi and the other Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. The date of the birth and death of Muḥammad b. Mūsā are uncertain. He flourished during the reign of al-Mā'mūn. He was the court astrologer and was held in high esteem by his royal patron. He was a mathematician, geographer, astronomer and historian. He wrote the *Kitāb al-Tārikh*, which later was made use of by al-Mas'ūdi and al-Tabari. He was an original scholar, having a scientific bent of mind. His most important work is entitled *al-Jubar wa al-Muqābalah*. One of his books on arithmetic was translated into Latin. He also composed two books on astrolobe under the titles, *Kitāb al-Amal bi al-Aṣṭrulāb* and *Kitab ul-Amr al-Aṣṭrulāb* but they could not survive. He dealt with astrology from a practical point of view. He also prepared an atlas of the maps of the heavens and the world.[1]

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1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. V. pp 912-913.

(Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārazmi was the author of the *Mafātih al-'Ulūm*, the oldest encyclopaedia prepared by the Muslims. This book was dedicated to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Ali al-'Utbī, a minister at the court of the Sāmānid king Nūḥ II who ruled from 366/976 to 387/997 He lived with his patron at Nishapur He was also a mathematician and used Greek translations of many important works on this science.[1]

Although education, despite official patronage, was not very common, and its scope was limited, yet the establishment of the Nizāmiah College at Baghdād and that of another institution of the same name at Nishāpur by the great, Nizām al-Mulk the prime minister of Malik Shāh the Saljuqid, had given a great impetus to the contemporary kings He thus set a noble example for those who had to follow him in the coming generations. The Khwārazmshāhs who had incorporated into their dominion the vast empire of the mighty house of the Saljuqids did not lag behind in this respect. There was a big college at Khwārazm in which Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi worked as principal. Bukhāra which since late had been a centre of religious and secular sciences was still maintaining that position. A large number of scholars flocked to this centre of learning. Besides the Imperial College of Mawlānā Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, Khwārazm had some other colleges to impart education to the people who were attracted by the glorious traditions of the metropolis. Although the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were not a period of progress for the Muslim world, like the preceding ones, especially as that of the Saljuqid's, yet the zeal of acqusition of learning bequeathed by the former generations still flourished. Khwārazm, the seal of government, had a considerable number of libraries, some of which were attached to various institutions, while others existed for the use of the common man. In Khurāsān, Marw had been a big centre of knowledge and learning Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, the great Arab geographer and contemporary of 'Sultan 'Alā al-Din Mu-

1 E. I. Vol. p. VII, 913.

ḥammad and his son Jalāl al-Dīn, visited Khwārazm and Marw before they were ravaged by the Mongols. With regard to Marw, he recorded that it was a city possessing two Friday mosques. One of these belonged to the Ḥanafites and the other to the Shāfi'ites. As the libraries of Marw were well known for their richness and comprehensiveness, Yā'qūb stayed there for full three years, collecting material for his famous and voluminous work, the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*. Had it not been for the Mongols he would have stayed there, for the rest of his life. And it was with great reluctance that he had to depart from this centre of learning. Marw had ten libraries, one of them, which was attached to the Friday mosque and was called al-'Aziziyah, contained twelve thousand volumes while another which was named Kamāliyah had also about the same number of books. This library was founded by a certain person named 'Aziz al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Atīq al-Zanjāni who was a cup-bearer of Sultan Sanjar, the Saljuqid. Besides these libraries, there was a library attached to the College of Sharf al-Mulk Abū Sa'd Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (d. 494/1099) and another one was attached to the Niẓāmiyah College of Niẓām al-Mulk. Similarly the two libraries founded by the Sāmānid kings also existed. Another of such libraries was in the college of 'Umaydiyah and one more in the Khātūniyah College. Besides the libraries mentioned above, there were two more one of them was founded by Majd al-Mulk, a minister, and the other called Ḍumayriyah, had only two hundred booksand each one of them was worth two hundred-gold pieces, as all of them were unique and invaluable.[1]

Anūshtigin was the founder of the last illustrious dynasty of Khwārazm Shāhs. He was the cup-bearer of Sanjar and the principality of Khwārazm was bestowed upon him by his royal patron to defray his expenses. He lived at the Sultan's court for all his life till he was succeeded by his ambitious grandson, Atsiz, who for the first time, in the history of this office, was permitted by the Sultan to go to his principality. Soon after, their relations became strained, and Atsiz quite unexpectedly, threw away the yoke of

1 *Mu'jam al-Buldān*. Vol. VIII, pp. 35-36.

vassalage of the Saljuqids and began to act as an independent monarch The royal courts of the rulers in those days were centres of learning, and poets and scholars assembled there not only from various parts of their own country, but from the neighbouring states also. Atsiz was fortunate to have al-Waṭwāṭ as his poet-laureate and also al-Zamākhshari, the most brilliant gem in his diadem. As we understand from bn-i-Khallikān, the learned author of the *Wafayat al-A'yān*, he was attached to the court of Khwārazmshāh (Atsiz); we include him among those great personalities who flourished under the royal patronage of the first independent Khwārazmshāh.

Shāhristānī

Abu al-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Abi al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karim b. Abi Bakr Aḥmad al-Shāhristānī was born in Shahristān, a small place in Khurāsān at a distance of three miles[1] from Nasā, probably in 469/1076.[2] Ibn-i-Khallikān says that he was born in 437/1045. Abu Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Arsalān al-Khwārazmi (568/1172) author of a history of Khwārazm, gives some details of his activities. According to him, "al-Shahristāni was a great scholar. Had it not been for the lack of faith in the true religion of Islam, and his love for heresy, viz., philosophy, he would have been an *Imām* (a religious leader) of his time. We were often astonished that with such highly developed mental qualities and the perfection of his mind, he was favourably inclined towards a branch of science which had no sound foundation and that he selected a subject for himself which could have for its support neither any logical proof nor any authority of religious tradition. May God save us all from disbelief and rejection of the light of the true religion. All this is due to the fact that he discarded the light of Islam and was lost in the mazes of philosophy. We were living in his neighbourhood and had chances to meet him and discuss with him different topics. He spared no pains to support

1 *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. V, p. 415.

2 *Ibid.*

the teachings of the philosophers and refute the objections raised against them. I attended some of his meetings also wherein he performed the duties of a preacher and not even once did he say: 'Thus spake the Prophet of God', nor did he throw light on a single question of *Sharī'ah*[1]". This shows that although the philosophical discussions were not liked by the religious leaders, yet there was no ban whatsoever on the teachings of this science.

Al-Shahristāni studied jurisprudence with Aḥmad al-Khiwāfi and Abū Naṣr al-Qashiri. He was a very good dialectician (*mutakallim*) and had acquired this science from Abu al-Qāsim al-Ansāri. In *ḥadīth* he was a pupil of Abu al-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Madā'ini. He was also a very good preacher and could keep the audience spell bound with his eloquent tongue. He went to Baghdād in 510/1116 and stayed there for full three years and preached at the famous college, Niẓāmiyah.

He was the author of the following books:—

1 *Nihāya al-Āqdām*- This work contains twenty chapters in which he has discussed in detail all the important topics pertaining to *kalām* (scholastic theology of dialectics)[2].

2 *Kitāb al Milal w-al-Nihal*. There are six books of this very name; the best known of which are those written by Ibn Ḥazm (456/1064) and al-Shahristāni. Al-Shahristāni collected all available information with regard to the various religions and different sects which then existed. He divided his work into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the different nations living on the globe: in the second he determined the basis of the diversity of belief and the rise of the various sects in Islam. The third chapter deals with the doubt which for the first time was raised against creation. The

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1 *Mu'jam al-Buldān*. Vol. V, pp. 415-416.
2 *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*. Vol. II, No. 1986.

fourth deals with the first suspicion raised against Islam, and the last one with the arrangement of the book.[1]

3 *Kitāb Ghāyat al-Marām fi'Ilm al-Kalām.*

4 *Kitāb Daqā'iq al-Awhām.*

5 *Kitāb al-Irshād 'ila 'Aqā'id al-'ibād.*

6 *Kitāb Mabdā' w-al-Ma'ād*, and

7 *Kitāb Sharḥ Yūsuf* (Chapter xii of the *Qur'ān*).

Al-Shahristāni died in 548/1153 in his native place and was buried there.[2]

Al-Zamakhshari

Al-Zamakhshari was the most brilliant and the highest valuable gem in the crown of Atsiz. He was born at Zamakhshar, a small village situated in the vicinity of Khwārazm in 467/10J4, and died in Khwārazm in 538/1143. He was the greatest and ablest scholar and the profoundest thinker produced by Islam in that age. His full name was Abu al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Khwārazmi al-Zamakhshari. As he lived for a considerable period in the sanctuary of Mecca, he was called Jar Allāh (the neighbour of God). He was considered an authority on *hadiths* exegesis (*tafsīr*), grammar, philosophy and rhetorics. He had studied literature with Abū Manṣūr Naṣr, one of the ablest scholars of his time Though al-Zamakhshari was a strong opponent of the Sha'ubiyyah movement who believed in the superiority of the Persians over the Arabs, yet he wrote an Arabic Persian lexicon for the use of his countrymen. He compsed the following works:-

1 *Al-Kashshāf*, a commentary on the *Qur'ān* which was completed by him in 528/1133. The work was appreciated far and wide and is regarded as one of the best commentaries.

2 *Al-Muhājāt fi' al-Naḥw*, a book on grammar.

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1 *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, Vol. II, No. 1820-1821.

2 *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. V, pp. 415-416; *Wafayat*, Vol. I, p. 482.

3 *Al-Mufrad w-al-Murakkb fi al-'Arabiyyah.*

4 *Al-Mufaṣṣal.* He started writing this book in 513/1119, and completed it in 514/1120.[1] This book has won appreciation not only from his contemporaries but also from the succeeding generations.

5 *Al-Fā'iq fi Gharib al-Ḥadith* He completed this work in 516/1122.[2]

6 *Asās al-Balāghah fi al-Lughah.* This is a voluminous work and is regarded as one of the greatest authorities in Arabic literature.[3]

7 *Rabī al-Abrār.* This is also one of his big works having seventy-two chapters. It deals with various aspects of Arabic literature.[4]

8 *Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār,*

9 *Dallat al-Nashīd.*

10 *Al-Rā'iḍ fi 'Ilm al-Farā'iḍ.*

11 *Al-Unmūdhaj fi 'Ilm al-Naḥw,* The material for this book was taken from the *Mufaṣṣal.* The book was written for 'Alā al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Imād al-Kāshī.[5]

12 *Al-Mufrad w-al-Ma'allaf fi al-Naḥw.*

13 *Mutashābih Asāmi al-Ruwāt.*

14 *Al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Kibār.*

15 *Al-Naṣā'ih al-Ṣighār.*

16 *Ru'ūs al-Masā'il fi al-Fiqh.*

17 *Sharḥ 'Abyāt Sibawayh.*

18 *Al-Mustaqṣī fi Amthāl al-Arab.* This book was finished in 499-6 1105.[6]

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1 *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* Vol. II, No. 1774.
2 *Ibid,* Vol. II, No. 1217.
3 *Ibid.* Vol. I, No. 74.
4 *Ibid,* Vol, I, No. 833.
5 *Ibid,* Vol. I, No. 175.
6 *Ibid,* Vol. II, No. 1675.

19 *Ṣamīm al-'Arabiyyah.*

20 *Sawā'ir al-Amthāl.*

21 *Dīwān al.Tamthīl.*

22 *Shiqā'aq al-Nu'mān fī Ḥaqā'iq al-Nu'mān.* This book is a life story of Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four orthodox *Imāms*[1].

23 *Shifā al-'Ayy min Kalām al-Shāfi'ī*

24 *Al-Qisṭās fī al-'Urūḍ.*

25 *Mu'jam al-Ḥudūd w-al-Minhāj fī al-Uṣūl.*

26 *Muqaddamah al-Adab.*

27 *Dīwān al-Rasā'il.*

28 *Dīwān al-Shi'r.*

29 *Al-Risālah al-Naṣīḥah w-al-Amāli.*

Al-Zamakhshari was a staunch supporter of the Mu'tazilites and preached their doctrines with great zeal and enthusiasm. In his later life he lost one of his legs, and instead used a wooden one. He was generally called "the Pride of Khwārazm".[2]

Nāṣir al-Muṭarrizi

The next man of the same type, though of less importance, was a disciple and pupil of al-Zamakhshari. His full name was Abū Fatḥ Nāṣir b. Abi al-Makārim 'Abd al-Sayyid b. 'Ali al-Muṭarrizi al-Khwārazmi. He was a very competent man especially in grammer, philology, poetry and different branches of literature. He had studied with his father and with Abu al-Mua'yyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Makki, who was a preacher at Khwārazm. Al-Muṭarrizi was a Ḥanafite and jurist of great eminence. In later life he had become a Mu'tazilite. He was the author of two books, namely *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, and the *Kitāb al-Mughrab.* The latter deals with unfamiliar and un-

1 *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, Vol. II, No. 1065.

2 *Wafayat*, Vol. II, p, 81; *Bughyah al-Wu'āt* p, 388; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. XIX, pp. 126-135.

common words used by the jurists. This book is regarded as important by the Ḥanafītes as the *Kitāb al-Azhari* by the Shafi'ites[1]. He paid a visit to Baghdād in 601/1204, and stayed there for some time.

He was born in Khwārazm in 538/1143 and died in 610/1210, during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad. Despite his being a Mu'tazilite, he was so popular with the people of Khwārazm for his piety and learning that more than two hundred persons composed elegies on his death.[2]

Besides the works mentioned above which were all of high standard, he was the author of the following books also :-

1 *Al-Mu'rab fi Lughat al-Fiqh.*

2 *Al-Iqna' fi al-Lughah.*

3 *Mukhtār al-Miṣbāh fi al-Naḥw.*

4 *Al-Muṭarriziyyah.*

5 *Mukhtaṣar al-Iṣlāḥ.*

'Ariḍī

Abu al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Aziz al-'Ariḍi al-Khwārazmi was a contemporary of the great al-Zamakhsharī. He was well versed in literature and philosophy. Yāqut al-Ḥamawi says that he was one of the ablest scholars of his time. He was so fond of philosophy that he disregarded all the religious sciences and vehemently criticised them. He was called "the sun of the East" for his vast learning and scholarship. Al-Zamakhsharī praised him so much that he used to call him "al-Jāḥiẓ the second". He was at the court of the Khwārazmshāh, and was highly respected by him. In his later years he abondoned court life and settled at Marw where he committed suicide in 521/1127.[3]

Al-'Ariḍi was also a poet.[4]

1 *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Vol. II, Nos. 1747-48.

2 *Wafayat*, Vol. II, pp. 151-52.

3 *Bughyah* p. 388; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. XIX, p. 126.

4 *Bughyah* p. 402; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. XIX, pp. 212-213.

Shihāb al-Dīn Khiwāfī

One of the learned men at the court of 'Alā al-Din Muḥammad was Shihḥb al-Din al-Khiwāfi who was also thoroughly versed in different branches of science, and had the honour of being a lecturer at five different colleges in the metropolis. He had built a magnificent library in the vicinity of the Shafi'ite cathedral mosque which had such a wonderful collection of rare books that none of the libraries could stand a compa ison to it. On receiving the news of the Mongol's invasion, the great scholar had to run for his life leaving most of his books behind.[1] He carried away with him only those which were most valuable; but the loss of the books always rankled in his mind. He took shelter in Naṣā which was later on captured by the Tartars and Shihāb al-Dīn was murdered. His books fell into the hands of ordinary people. Al-Nasāwī, the well-known author of the *Ṣirah li Jalāl al-Dīn* happened to be at Naṣā and having l·arnt of the incident, tried to acquire as many of his books as possible. Later on as the same fate befell him, he was obliged to leave his native place with all his belongings When Ghiyāth al-Din Pirshāh, one of the step brothers of Jalāl al-Din, captured the town against the wishes of the local ruler, the library was looted and its entire contents were destroyed.[2]

Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi

The most illustrious personage of this age was Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī. His full name was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. 'Ali, He was a descendent of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second orthodox caliph. Al-Rāzī's father, Abū al-Qāsim Diyā' al-Din 'Umar was one of the well known preachers of his time. He was a *mutakāllim*, mystic, *muḥaddith* and writer, Fakhr al-Din was born at Rayy on Ramaḍān 25, 543/Feb. 7, 1148. As long as his father was alive, he studied jurisprudence and dialectics with him. On his death he attached himself to

1 *Al-Sirah li Jalāl al.Dīn*, p. 49.
2 *Ibid p.* 106.

Kamāl al-Samnāni, a famous scholar of his time and studied jurisprudence with him. After it he took to philosophy and studied it with Majd Jīlī at Rayy and when afterwards his teacher migrated to Marāghāh, Fakhr al-Dīn accompanied him there to complete the study of dialectics and philosophy After completing his education, he set out on a journey presumably in search of a job to earn his livelihood. He was a poor man and had to face many a hardship. This was not all. Beside economic troubles he had mental worries too, which added to his difficulties. Due to the study of Greek philosophy, a large number of sects had sprung up in Islam, and in order to prove one's mettle one had to discuss various religious prepositions publicly. Fakhr al-Dīn was not, and could not be an exception to it. Although these debates were academically useful yet they had many moral and social drawbacks. As Fakhr al-Din was an expert in the art of debating, he soon acquired fame as such, and was therefore, unpopular with his contemporaries. At Khwārazm he had a discussion with the Mu'tazilites and was forced to leave the town in all haste. Thence he went to Transoxiana where also he met ultimately were with the same fate. He visited India as well.

After visiting Khwārazm and Transoxiana, he returned to his native place Rayy. Happily for him a physician, who was very rich, was approaching his end. Fakhr al-Din was summoned by him while on his death-bed. He requested Rāzī to marry both of his daughters to his sons and take possession of his entire wealth. This was a turning point in the life of this great scholar. The physician possessed fabulous riches which ultimately were transferred to the credit of Fakhr al-Din.

Fakhr al-Dīn was respected alike by the low and high for his great learning and piety. At first he was in the court of Ghiyāth al-Din' the well-known king of the Ghurid dynasty. The Sultan was a Shafi'ite and had built a large number of schools and monasteries for the Shafi'ites at Firūzkūh and in the principal towns of his vast state. A special college was built for Fakhr al-Din at Hirāt where a large number of students from various towns

assembled. But as a considerable part of the population of Hirāt was the follower of the Karamite sect. Fakhr al-Din could not have a smooth sailing there too. A discussion took place between Fakhr al-Din and the religious leader of the Karamites which as usual ended in a great uproar. The debate was arranged at Firūz-kūh in the presence of Ghiyāth al-Din; and had not the Sultan intervened, the trouble would have aggravated. As the Imām had acted in an objectionable way and abused the leader of the Kara-mites in the presence of the Sultan, a strong protest was lodged with Ghhiyāth al-Din who sent Fakhr al-Din back to Hirāt.

After the death of Ghiyāth al-Din the Imām enjoyed the royal patronage of Shihāb al-Din who had succeeded his brother. But for his anti-Karamite tendencies, he was still unpopular with the people at large, so much so that when the Sultan was murdered by a Fidāi heretic, the action was attributed to the Imām. A wave of resentment ran through the entire town and the people rushed on Fakhr al-Din to kill him, but he was saved by the timely inter-vention of one of the ministers of the late—Sultan.

As the Imām had annoyed the Karamites who formed an overwhelming majority of the population of the Ghurid empire, it was unwise and inexpedient for him to stay there. The Khwāraz-mian court was the next hope of Fakhr al-Din. Since the Imām's fame as a scholar and preacher had travelled faster than him, he was received with open arms by the Khwārazmshāh, who appointed him tutor of 'Alā' al-Din Muḥammad, the crown-prince. On the death of his father, when 'Alā al-Din succeeded him, great consideration was shown to the Imām. He was raised to to the highest ecclesiastical dignity and appointed the *shaykh al-Islām*. Even in those days the Imām did not cease to be a teacher and preacher. He delivered lectures to the students and preached sermons in the mosques on Fridays.

His death took place on 1st *Shawwāl*. 606/29th March, 1209, at sixty-three years of age. He was buried in Hirāt. It is said that he was poisoned by the Karamites.

Fakhr al-Din was a prolific writer and a man of versatile genius. Some of his works are :—

1. *Tafsir-i-Kabīr.* This is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*. The Imām himself named it *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*. It was in twelve volumes. The larger portion of this commentary was written by Fakhr al-Din himself. Later on it was completed by his disciple Shihāb al-Din b. Khalīl of Damascus who died in 639/1241.

2. *Asrār al-Tanzil wa Anwār al-Ta'wīl.* According to al-Qifti this work is also a commentary on the *Qur'ān*.[1]

3. *Mafātīḥ al-Ulūm.* This was a detailed commentary on the first chapter of the Holy *Qur'ān* and was in two volumes.

4. *Tafsīr al-Baqarah*, a commentary on the second chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

5. *Tafsir al-Ikhlāṣ*, a commentary on a chapter of the *Qur'ān*.

6. *Al-Lawāmi' al-Bayyināt*, a treatise dealing with the different names of God, the Almighty.

7. *Al-Muḥaṣṣil.* This work deals with the scholastic science and its main principles.

8. *Al-Arba'īn fi Uṣūl al-Dīn.* In this book the Imām has discussed forty important articles pertaining to scholasticism.

9. *Ma'lim.* The book deals with the principles of dialectics and jurisprudence.

20. *Al-Khamsin fi Uṣūl al-Dīn.* This is a small treatise in Persian dealing with fifty tenents of scholasticism.

11. *Nihāyah al-'Uqūl.* According to Ḥāji Khalifah the book deals with jurisprudence.[2]

12. *Kitāb al-Qaḍā' w-al-Qadar.* The implications of pre-destination have been explained in this work.

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1 *Tarīkh al-Ḥukama'*, p. 394.

2 *Kashf al-Ẓūnun'* Vol. II, p. 621.

13. *Asās al-Taqdīs*, This work was presented by the author to Sayf al Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb who sent one thousand gold *dinārs* to him.

14. *Al-Laṭā'if al-Ghiyāthiyyah.* This work is in Persian and contains four chapters dealing with scholasticism, jurisprudence, morals and prayer.

15. *'Iṣmat al-Anbiyā'.* In this work the author has discussed the question of the immunity of the prophets from error and sin.

16. *Al-Maṭālib al-'Aliyāh.* The subject-matter of this book is also scholasticism. It is in three volumes and is the last work of the Imām.[1]

17. *Risālah fi al-Nabuwwah.* It deals with "prophethood", an important article of the faith of Islam.

18. *Al-Riyāḍ al-Mūnīq*, In this book Fakhr al-Din has discussed various religions and sects.

19. *Kitāb al-Milal w-al-Niḥal.* This work also deals with the same subject.

20. *Taḥsil al-Ḥaqq*, a work on scholasticism.

21. *Al-Bayān w-al-Burhān*, as above.

22. *Al-Mabāḥith al-Amawiyyah fi al-Maṭālib al-Ma'diyyah.*

23. *Tahdhib al-Dalā'il wa 'Uyūn al-Masā'il.*

24 *Irshād al-Nuzzār ila Laṭā'if al-Asrār.*

25. *Ajwibah li Masā'il al-Najjā'riyyah* :

26. *Kitāb al-Zubdah.*

27. *Kitāb al-Khalq w-al-Ba'th.*

28. *Kitāb al-Maḥsūl*, a voluminious work that deals with the principles of jurisprudence.

29. *Tanbīḥ al-Ishārah.* This also deals with the above subject.

30. *Mulakhkhaṣ*, a book on logic and philosophy.

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1 *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, Vol. II, p. 452.

31. *Al-Risālat al-Kamāliyyah fi al-Ḥaqā'iq al-Ilahiyyāh* is a small treatise in Persian that deals with logic and philosophy.

32. *Ḥadā'iq al-Anwār fi Daqā'iq al-Asrār.*

33. *Al-Mabaḥīth al-Mashriqīyyah.*

34. *Kitāb al-Inarāt fi Sharḥ al-Ishārāt.*

35. *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah.*

36. *Lubāb al-īshārat.*

37. *Kitāb Mabaḥith al-Wujūd w-al-'Adam.*

38. *Muntakhab Kitāb Dankalūshā.*

39. *Risālat al-Ḥudūth.*

40. *Risālah al-Jawhār al-Fard.*

41. *Ta'jiz al-Fīlāsifah.*

42. *Sharḥ al-Wajiz.*

43. *Sharḥ Musādarāt Uqlīdas.*

44. *Kitāb fi al-Hindasah.*

45. *Risālah fi al-Nafs.*

46. *Al-Ahkām al-'Alā'iyyah fi al-Ā'lam al-Samāwiyyāh,* is a work on astronomy in Persian, dedicated to 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, his royal patron.

47. *Al-Sirr al-Maktūm fi Mukhātab al-Nujūm.*

48. *Kitāb Iḥkām al-Aḥkām.*

49. *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Kabir.*

50. *Sharḥ Kulliyāt al-Qānūn.*

51. *Kitāb al-Nabḍ.*

52. *Kitāb al-Tashriḥ,* a book on anatomy.

53. *Kitāb al-Ashriba,* a work on medicine.

54. *Sirāj al-Qulūb,* a book on metaphysics.

55. *Al-Ṭarīqat al-'Alāiyyāh,* this work is in four volumes.

56. *Shifā' al-'ayy min al-Khilāf.*

57. *Kitāb al-Ṭarīqah.*
58. *Kitāb fi Ibṭal al-Qiyās.*
59. *Kitāb al-Akhlāq.*
60. *Kitāb fi Dhamm al-Dunyā.*
61. *Kitāb al-Raml.*
62. *Nafathāt al-Masdūr.*
63. *Al-Barāhin al-Bahā'iyyah.*
64. *Kitāb al-Firāsah.*
65. *Kitāb fi Mabāḥith al-Jadl.*
66. *Kitāb al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt.*
67. *Al-Risālāt al-Ṣāhibiyyah.*
68. *Al-Risālah al-Majdiyyah.*
69. *Risālah fi al-Sawāl.*
70. *Kitāb Jawāb al-Filānī.*
71. *Kitāb al-Rawyā.*
72. *Nihāya al-Ijāz fi Dirāya al-I'jaz.*
73. *Bahr al-Ansāb.*
74. *Sharḥi Saqṭ al-Zand.*
75. *Sharḥi Nahjat al-Balāgha.*
76. *Manāqib al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī.*
77. *Faḍā'il al-Saḥābāh.*
78. *Dalā'il al-I'jāz.*
79. *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥah.*

Bāhā' al-Dīn al-Baghdādi

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad al Baghdādi was the secretary of 'Alā al-Dīn Takish at Khwārazm. The date of his death is not known, but this much is certain that he was alive in 588/1192, as he had a literary discussion with Bahā' al-Din Muḥammad b. 'Ali, grandfather of 'Aṭā Malik al-Juwayni, the author of the *Jahāngushā*, in the presence of Takish. Al-Baghdādi

once displeased the prime minister of Takish, Nizām al-Mulk Shams al-Dīn b. 'Ali who put him behind the bars for six months in Shādyākh. Al-Baghdādī is the author of a well-known book in Persian entitled *al-Tawassul ila-Tarassul*. The contents of the work are as follows :—

(*a*) Introduction, pertains to the praise of God, the Holy Prophet, his descendants his Companions, and the eulogy of the Khwārazmshāh. Moreover the author states the cause for the compilation of this book.

(*b*) The first chapter is devoted to the praise of the prime minister of the Sultān, Nizām al-Mulk Shams al-Din Mas'ud b. 'Ali Harīwā.

(*c*) In the second chapter he describes the various styles of Persian, and at the end gives a detailed account of his own style.

(*d*) The book is further divided into three parts. The first one contains twenty-one royal epistles addressed to the various authorities of the Khwārazmian empire, agreements signed with the neighbouring states and letters giving details of the victories achieved by his royal master.

(*e*) The second part consists of fourteen letters addressed to the neighbouring rulers, for instance, the rulers of Fīrūzkūh, Iraq, Shīrwān, Māzandrān etc.

(f) The third part has fifteen letters addressed by the author to the various ministers of the state, dignitaries and some literary persons with whom Bahā' al-Dīn was on friendly terms.

(*g*) Appendix. This comprises nine letters written by Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad to some of his sincere and bosom friends.

(*h*) A historical letter. In this long letter which is spread over upto forty pages, the author has explained in detail the hardships that he had to bear while in prison.

Bahā' al-Dīn was a good poet, both of Persian and Arabic

languages, so much so that 'Awfi included his name among the poets discussed by him in his well-known book, *Lubāb al-Bāb*.[1]

Al-Nasawī

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī was an Arabic historian and biographer of the last Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Din Mankubarni. He was born in Kharandiz,[2] an estate in the district of Nasā. During his father's life time when Niẓām al-Mulk Shams al-Dīn Mas'ud b. 'Ali, prime minister was dismissed, he visited his estate on a journey to Khwārazm and was received by him. For some time in his youth, he stayed with the ruler of Māzandrān Inānachkhān. When the Mongols invaded Khurāsān in 617/1211 his father had died and al-Nasawi had succeeded him in his ancestral estate. When a detachment of the Mongol army advanced on his citadel, he saved it from being wrecked by giving ten thousand bales of cloth. At this critical juncture Niẓām al-Dīn al-Sam'ānī, a famous scholar was puting up with al-Nasawī as a guest. As al-Nasawī had enabled his guest to escape to Khwarāzm prior to the Mongol attack on Nasā al-Sam'āni managed to procure him a good piece of land from Uzlāghshāh b. Muḥammad by way of gratitude. When Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad, a representative of a local royal family, came to power as a successor to his nephew Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, he appointed al-Nasawi as his deputy and it was in this capacity that he took part in a battle fought by Inānach Khān, at Nakhjawān near Nasā against the Mongols. This was the only instance in which he took part in a fight. When after the death of 'Alā al-Dīn Muhammad, a quarrel with regard to succession rose among the princes of the royal house of Khwārazmshāh Nuṣrat al-Din supported the eldest

1 *Tarīkh Jahāngushā*, Vol. II, pp. 23-28.
Lubāb al-Albāb, Vol. I, pp. 139-142, 328-329.
Kashf al-Ẓunūn, Vol. I.
Al-Tawassul ila al-Tarassul, (Teheran, 1315 A. H)

2 *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. II, p. 415.

and the noblest prince Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubarnī. An expedition against him was thereupon sent by Ghiyāth al-Dīn, one of the rival claimants, under Tūlāq son of Ināṇach Khān. Nuṣrat al-Dīn, in order to guard himself against the consequences of the displeasure of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, deputed al-Nasawī, with one thousand *dīnārs*, to arrange for a rapproachment. Al-Nasawī, after wandering for about two months, handed over the amount to Sharaf al-Mulk, prime minister of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn, who ordered Tūlāq to abandon the siege of Nasā, but the succour came too late and the unlucky Nuṣrat al-Dīn had already been executed.

When after, his return from India, Jalāl al-Dīn finally settled at Marāghāh, al-Nasawī joined his service, and was appointed royal scribe. He, thereafter, accompanied his master on all his campaigns against the Mongols and remained with him through thick and thin. Ḍīyā' al-Mulk 'Alā al-Dīn, had taken over as governor of Nasā, but by his mis-government, however, he aroused such feelings of disgust among the inhabitants of the place that he was dismissed, and al-Nasawī was appointed in his stead. Since he did not like to part company with his royal patron, and preferred to remain at the court he sent a deputy to officiate for him there. When the Sultan was stealthily surrounded at Ḥānī, in 628/1230 and he in order to save himself, had to decamp at night, al-Nasawī was seperated from him. Unhappily he fell into the hands of the Mongols who threw him in prison where he remained for about two months. Finally he managed to escape from there and went to Mayyafāriqīn, where afterwards to his utter disgust he learnt that the Sultan had been murdered by a Kurd on 27 Shawwāl 624/ August 16, 1201.

Ten years after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, al-Nasawī undertook the compilation of the biography of his deceased master in 631/1241. The book opens with a confused and romantic account of the early history of the Mongols, taking up the thread of events when 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad marched on 'Iraq in 614/1217. The record of the events pertaining to the

life story of Jalāl al-Dīn are either based on his personal observations or on the narrations of the nobles at the court of his hero and that of his late-father's. His main interest lies in recording diplomatic correspondance rather than military expeditions.

The book is written in Arabic and the author's style is simple and fluent. He possessed a facile pen and described events in full details.[1]

Nīẓām al-Dīn al-Khwārazmī

Niẓām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayder b. 'Ali was born in 559/1163 at Khwārazm. He was an authority on jurisprudence, *ḥadith*, exegesis and the principles of jurisprudence. He was a contemporary of the great al-Zamakhsharī and had access to the court of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. He composed the following works :—

1. *Dīwān al-Anbiya'*.
2. *Sharḥ-i-Kalila wa Dimnā*. This book is in Persian.
3. *Al-Wasā'il ila al-Rasā'il.*
4. An Anthology of Persian verses.
5. *Kitāb al-Khutab fi Da'wāt al-Qur'ān.*
6. *Kitāb al-Turfah* (in Persian)
7. *Asās Nāmah* (in Persian)
8. *Ta'rif Shawāhid al-Tasrif.*
9. *Anmūdhaj Nāmah*, a collection of poetical lines from the *Kalilā wa Dimna.*
10. *Guftār Nāmah*, a work on Logic in Persian.

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1 E.I. Vol. III. pp. 854-855.
Mukhtaṣar Tārikh of Abu al-Fida', Vol. II, pp. 129, 154.
Turkestan, pp. 38-39.

11. *Marāti' al-Wasā'il wa Marābi' al-Rasā'il.*[1]

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khwārazmi.

Abu al-Ḥasan al-Khwārazmī's full name was 'Ali b. Arrāq al-Anṣāri al-Khwārazmī. He was born at *Madhānah*, a place in the vicinity of Khwārazam in 539/1144. He was a grammarian, jurisprudent, *muḥaddith* and commentator of the *Qur'ān*. He studied jurisprudence with a learned scholar at Khwārazm named Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Wabarī*. From there he went to Bukhārā but after staying there for some time, returned to Khwārazm. He was a preacher and preached in the cathedral mosque on the morning of Friday. He was the author of a Commentary on the *Qur'ān*, entitled *Shamarikh al-Durar*.[2]

Al-'Imrani al-Khwārazmi

Another great scholar of the time was 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Aḥmad b. Marwān al-'Imrānī al-Khwārazmī also known as Hujjat al-Afāḍil. He studied literature with al-Zamkhshari, and *ḥadīth* with 'Umar al-Tarjamāni b. Abi al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Munkhi, Ḥasan b Sulaymān Khujandi and 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Bāqirghi. He composed the following books :—

1. *Kitāb al-Mawaḍi' w-al-Buldān.*
2. *Tafsir al-Qur'ān.*
3. *Ishtiqāq al-Asmā.*[3]

Qāsim bin Ḥusayn.

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmi was born at Khwārazm on 9 *Sha'bah* 555/15 August, 1160 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī paid a visit to him on the 29th *Dhu al-Qa'dah* 616/5 January, 1220, prior to the attack by the Mongols. He was a Ḥanafite and never cared to attend the royal court of the Khwārazmshāh. The following of his books have come down to us :—

1 *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*. Vol. II, pp. 15-16.
2 *Ibid.* Vol. XIV, pp. 63 64.
3 *Ibid-* Vol. XV, pp. 61-65.

1. *Kitāb al-Majmarah.* This is a brief exposition of the well known work of al-Zamakhsharī called *al-Mufaṣṣal.*

2. *Kitab al-Sabikah*, another exposition of the same work but is of medium size.

3. *Kitab al-Tajmīr*, a full and detailed expositfon of the well-known work of al-Zamakhshari called *al-Mufaṣṣal.*

4. *Sharḥ-i-Saqt l-Zand*, a commentary on the anthology of Abu al-'Alā al-Ma'arri.

5. *Al-Tawḍih fi Sharaḥ al-Muqāmāt al-Ḥarirī.*

6. *Lahja al-Sharḥ fi Sharḥ Alfaz al-Fiqh.*

7. *Sharḥ al-Mufrad w-al-Mu'allaf.*

8. *Sharḥ al-Nāmūdhaj.*

9. *Sharaḥ al-Ahāji li Jar Allāh.*

10. *Khalwat al-Rayāḥin fi al-Muhaḍarāt.*

11. *'Ajā'ib al-Naḥw.*

12. *Al-Sirr fi al-I'rāb.*

13. *Sharḥ al-Abniyāh.*

14. *Al-Zawāyā w-al-Janāyā fi al-Nahw.*

15. *Al-Muḥaṣṣal-li al-Muḥaṣṣalāt fi al-Bayān.*

16. *Bada'i al-Milh.*

17. *Sharh al-Yamīni.*[1]

Zayn al-Mashā'ikh

Zayn al-Mashā'ikh Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Baqqālī al Khwārazmī was regarded an authority on Arabic language and literature. He studied grammar and most of the current sciences with al-Zamakhshari, and on the death of his learned teacher he was installed in his seat. He was called Zayn al-Mashā'ikh for his piety and learning. He died in 562/1166 at the age of more than seventy years. He is reported to have composed the following books :-

1 *Mu'jam al-udaba*, Vol. pp. 238-252.

1. *Miftāḥ al-Tanzīl*, a commentary on the *Qur'ān*.
2. *Taqwīm al-Lisān fi al-Naḥw*.
3. *Al-I'jāb fi al-'Irāb*.
4. *Manāzil al-'Arab*.
5. *Al-Badāyāh fi al-Ma'ānī wa al-Bayān*.
6. *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*.[1]

Abu Muḍar

Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Jarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī, known as "Farīd al-'Aṣr", was an expert in grammar, medical science, and Arabic language and literature. He lived for a considerably long period at Khwārazm and was one of the teachers of al-Zamakhsharī. He died at Marw in 507/1113. The only work he is known to have left is the *Zād al-Rāqib*[2]

Al-Sakkaki.

Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥmmad was another learned man of this period. He was known as al--Sakkāki and belonged to Khwārazm. He was regarded an authority on Arabic literature and various branches of learning. He was born in 554/1159. He composed an encyclopaedic work entitled *Miftah al-'Ulūm*, and spent twelve years on it. When Yāqūt al-Hamawī visited Khwārazm, this scholar was alive and he had the privilege of meeting him.[3]

Poets :

I have tried to give a brief account of the Arabic and Persian prose-writers who flourished at this illustrious court and those who were their contemporaries at Khwārazm but had no connection with the royal court. I have deliberately omitted the name of the great al-Bīrūnī while giving a brief account of a few renowned scholars who rose from this seat of

1 *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. XVI, pp. 261-263.
2 *Ibid*: Vol. XIX, pp. 123-124.
3 *Ibid*. Vol. XX, pp. 58-59.

learning. Al-Biruni is too great a scholar to be dealt with briefly. Moreover as he passed the major part of his life out of Khwārazm, I preferred not to mention him.

Poets were regarded a necessary feature of royal courts. Every monarch had a few talented poets to satisfy his vanity and to extol his military achievements. The Khwārazmshāh were not an exception to it, hence they patronised them generously. Some of the Khwārazmshāhs themselves composed verses and showed a peculiar tendency towards this art.

Atsiz, the real founder of this dynasty, was tolerably a good poet. When Sanjar marched on Khwārzam to punish him for his misbehaviour, he shut himself up in his capital and despite Sanjar's threats refused to pay a visit to him and beg his pardon. At last he threatened to sack the town of Khwārazm. Thereupon Atsiz composed the following lines and sent them to the Sultan :-

اگر باد پایست یکران شاه   کمیت مرا پائی هم لنگ نیست
چو او آید این جا من آنجا روم   خدائی جهان را جهان تنگ نیست
ملکشهر یار است و شاه جهان   گریز از چنین پادشاه ننگ نیست[1]

Takish was also a poet and the following quatrain is attributed to him :-

در زین سخا نشست دانم کردن   گر کوه زر است پست دانم کردن
لیکن چو خزانهٔ که می باید نیست   ازنیست چگونه هست دانم کردن[2]

The dreadful 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad was also not without a taste for poetry. The following quatrain is a specimen of the verses composed by him :-

چون دید فلک نه ماندش پس قوت و تاب
اندر کف من تیغ چو یک قطرهٔ آب

1 *Lubāb al-Albāb*, Vol. I, pp. 35-37.
2 *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

دستم چو سحاب آمد و این طرفه که دید

ابری که به یک قطره جهان کرد خراب[1]

Ṣābir b. Ismā'īl was one of the poets who flourished at the court of Atsiz. He belonged to Tirmidh and his verses were appreciated at the court of his royal patron. He composed many a panegyric in praise of his master[2].

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad al-Baghdādī was a courtier of Takish and acted as his secretary for a considerable time. The date of his death is not known, but he was alive in 588/1192 when he had a literary discussion with Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the grandfather of 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, the author of the *Jahāngushā*, in the presence of Takish. He once displeased the prime minister of the Sultan, Shams al-Dawla w-al-Din Mas'ūd b. 'Alī, who advised 'Atābak Manqā to put him in prison.[3] He compiled a book entitled *al-Tawassul ila al-Tarassul*, which is regarded as one of the best specimen of the writings of those days. The work consists of an introduction, two prefatory notes and three chapters. In the introduction the learned author has praised God the Almighty, His Prophet, the descendants and the Companions of the Prophet, and his royal patron. At the end he has stated the reasons which prompted him to compile this work. In one of the prefatory notes, Bahā' al-Din has eulogised his name-sake, the prime minister of Sultan 'Alā al-Din Takish The second preface is devoted to the various styles and forms of Persian prose and that of his own. One of the three chapters contains some royal mandates and orders, letters pertaining to civil justice, articles of peace and despatches praising the victories of the Sultan The second chapter comprises formal letters written by him on behalf of the Sultan to the contemporary kings, rulers of the neighbouring states and the

1 *Lubāb al-Albāb*, Vol. I. pp. 43-44.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 117-125.

3 *Jahangusha*, Vol. II, p 28; *Lubāb al-Albāb* Vol. I, pp. 139-42, 328-329.

governors of the provinces. In the third chapter are collected the author's informal letters addressed to diffierent scholars and intimate friends.[1]

Shāhpūr of Nishāpur was a well-known poet in the court of 'Ālā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, holding the office of secretary. He was enlisted as such on the recommendation of Nūr al-Dīn Munshī who later on was appointed as a minister at the court of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh. He composed a few treatises on the art of writing in Persian. He was a descendant of 'Umar Khayyām. He died in 606/1209, in Tabrīz.[2]

Dhu al-Fiqār of Shīrwān was another renowned poet at the Khwārazmian court at this time. He was assigned the duty of versifying the Sulṭān's military expeditions.[3]

Abū 'Alī b. Ḥusayn of Marw was another poet of repute at the court of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. He composed elegant poems in the praise of the Sulṭān.[4]

Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad of Nasā was also a poet of the court who like Dhu al-Fiqār of Shīrwān was entrusted with the work of recording in verse the expeditions of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. He composed the following quatrain on a particular occasion in the persence of his beloved when the poet was shedding tears and she was wiping them with her sleeve :—

اشک من اگر ستردی اے عہد شکن
پس منت نیست ز آستنیت بر من
چوں کار تو آبروئی بردن باشد
بر روئی من آب کے توانی دیدن[5]

1 *Al-Tawassul* etc, Intro; p 8.
2 Dawlat Shāh *Tadhkirah*, pp. 137-141.
3 *Ibid* p. 132.
4 *Lubāb al-Albāb*, Vol. II, pp. 339.—342
5 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 345.

Rashid al-Watwāt, was attached to the court of Atsiz the first independent ruler of this dynasty, who threw away the vassalage of the Saljuquids and declared himself independent, deserved to be mentioned along with his contemporary Ṣābir b. Ismā'il. But I preferred to mention him after discussing the less important poets associated with this house. Rashīd was born in Balkh, which in those times was regarded as one of the biggest towns of Khursasan. His full name was Rashīd al-Din Sa'd al-Mulk Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al Jalil al-Waṭwāt. He was one of the descendants of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb the second orthodox caliph. Balkh was a prominent seat of learning, having a large number of schools and colleges. One of these colleges was called Nizāmīyyah. Rashīd was educated at this college and studied with a well known scholar named Abū Sa'd of Hirat. Nothing is definitely known of his date of birth, but it can be inferred that it might have taken place sometime between 480/1087 and 487/1094. It is recorded by 'Aṭā Malik, the learned author of the *Jahāngushā*, that when Takish ascended the throne in 568/1172 Rashīd who was more than eighty years of age at that time, was brought in a litter to attend the royal ceremony. From this it can be safely concluded that he might have been born between the years mentioned above.

Apparently Rashīd, after completing his study of the current sciences and attaining mastery over Arabic and Presian languages went to Khwārazm and got access to Abu al-Muẓaffar Atsiz. The Khwārazmshāh had arrived in his principality in 522/1128 and most probably that very year Rashīd joined service and remained there till he breathed his last in 57?/1177.

As Rashīd was a man of versatile genius, he was highly respected by Atsiz and the learned men of his time. The Khwārazmshāh was so much enamoured with his lively talk and scholarship that he could not bear his separation and he had to attend his royal master wherever he went. The Sultān had built a house for him in the vicinity of his

palace, and the Sultan talked to him sitting in a window. From this we gather that his conversation was exceedingly pleasant, and the Sultan appreciated it immensely. He had allowed him to attend even his private assemblies. The author of *Lubāb al-Albāb* mentions that once Rashīd was present on an awkward occasion and though he wanted to take leave, the Sultan permitted him to stay.

Rashīd was called "al-Waṭwāṭ" (a sparrow), as he was a man of short stature and unimpressive personality.

In 536/1141, when Sanjar suffered a defeat at the hands of Gūr Khān and fled to Balkh, Atsiz marched on Marw, the capital of the Saljuqids, killed a considerable number of people and took many learned men with him to Khwārazm. It was on this occasion that Rshīd composed his well-known panegyric which runs as follows :—

چون ملک اتسز به تخت ملک برآمد

دولت سلجوق و آل وی بسر آمد

And it was on this occasion that Atsiz threw away the yoke of Saljuqīds' vassalage and proclaimed his independence. The Sultan, by way of retaliation, marched on Khwārazm in 538/1143, and laid a siege. As the Khwārazmshāh was not a match to the mighty ruler of the house of the Saljuqids, he sued for peace. Sanjar did not wish to pursue the matter to the bitterest end, he therefore forgave him and raising the siege departed. The Sultan, in order to have a check on his nefarious activities deputed Adīb-i-Ṣābir as his representative at the Khwārazmian court. After a while the poet smelt a rat and came to know that the Khwārazmshāh had hired the services of two ruffians to murder the Sultan. Adīb-Ṣābir informed the Sultan secretly of his unholy designs. The secret service of Sanjar succeeded in detecting the presence of the ruffians in a tavern. They were produeed before the Sultan and killed. The poor poet had to pay dearly for it. Atsiz ordered him to be bound hand and foot and drowned in the Oxus. In 542/1145 the Sultan once again marched

against Atsiz and laid siege to Hazarasp, a town in the vicinity of K͟hwārazm. Anwarī the poet-laureate of the Sultan, composed the following quatrain, tied it with an arrow and shot it into the city :—

اے شاه همه ملک زمین حسب تراست
وز دولت و اقبال جهان کسب تراست
امروز به یک حمله هزار اسپ بگیر
فردا خوارزم و صد هزار اسپ تراست

Rashid who was in Hazārasp by way of a rejoinder to the above quatrain, wrote the following and shot it back into the Sultans' camp :—

شاها در جامت می صافی است نه درد
اعدائی ترا ز غصه خون باید خورد
گر خصم تو ای شاه بود رستم گرد
یک خر ز هزار اسپ نتواند برد

The composition was produced before the Sultan, who felt so much exasperated, that he swore to cut Rashīd into seven pieces whenever he caught him. Soon after. Hazārasp fell. It was a doomsday for the impudent but helpless poet. In order to save himself Rashīd approached all the dignatories one by one and requested to intercede on his behalf but in vain. At last it was Muntak͟hab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib who promised to help him, if and when, a suitable occasion arose.

One day the name of Rashīd was mentioned in the presence of Sanjar. Badi' al-Kātib, addressing the Sultan, said "Your Majesty has sworn to cut Rashīd, into seven pieces, but since he is only handful of a man, I suggest that he may be cut into two and not seven". The Sultan smiled and forgave the poet.

Besides the K͟hwārazms͟hāh, Rashīd had access to the court of Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the ruler of Jand, whom he addressed as K͟hāqān the Great. Abu al-Qāsīm. Kamāl al-Dīn, Maḥmūd was on good terms with Atsiz. He once invited

the Khwārazmshāh to Jand to make incursions into the neighbouring land and annex it But when Atsiz approached Jand, Kamāl al-Dīn felt disaffected and ran away. This unhappy incident brought trouble in its wake for the poor poet His enemies reported to the Khwārzmshāh that Rashīd was in touch with the activities of Kamāl al-Dīn and fully aware of his treachery. The Khwārazmshāh believing the report debarred the poet from attending his court. For some time the poet-laureate of Atsiz was in hot waters ; he wrote a considerable number of panegyrics in which he eulogised Atsiz and lamented the punishment imposed on him for no faults of his. At last Atsiz was convinced of poets' innocence and withdrew his orders.

Atsiz died in 551/1146, and was succeeded by his son Iyal Arsalān. He reigned for seventeen years and Rashīd remained at his court till he also breathed his last in 568/1172. When Takīsh was crowned as Khwārazmshāh on the death of his father, the poet-laureate of his grandfather who was very old, also graced, the occasion. He was brought in a litter before the Sultān and recited the following quatrain :—

جدت ورق زمانه از ظلم بشت
عدل پدرت شکستها کرد درست
اے بر تو قبائی سلطنت آمد چست
هان تا چه کنی که نوبت دولت تست

It appears that Rashīd who worked for about forty-one years as private secretary to the Khwārazmshāh and was in charge of the chancellery, due to old age gave up this job and retired from service. His successor, as usual, found fault with the working of his predecessor and did all sorts of mischief to tease him. Many a time Rashīd tried to placate him but in vain. Although Rashīd was respected at the court and led an enviable life due to royal favours conferred on him, yet he could never forget his native place Balkh, and his old mother who was still alive. The pomp and show of the court could not make him forget the city where he was

born and the person who had given him birth. Whenever he could snatch a few days to be absent from the court, he would run to Balkh to see his mother. Once he was seen at Balkh in 538-539/1142-43, when Atsiz was busy in annexing the outlying districts of Khurasan.

Rashīd also praised Nuṣrat al-Dīn Rustam b. 'Alī b. Shahryār b. Qārān who annually sent him five hundred *dīnārs*, a robe of honour and a horse as gifts. Rashīd composed a few panegyrics for him in Arabic also.

Though as a poet and prose-writer of Arabic and Persian Al-Waṭawāṭ, was regarded as a unique person, yet his poetry lacks flow and sweetness which are the main characteristics of a high class verse. Yāqūt, the author of the famous *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, preferred his prose to poetry.[1] We learn on the authority of Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī that Rashīd's anthology contained about fifteen thousand lines.

Rashīd's relations with contemporary scholars and poets on the whole were quite friendly and cordial. He praised some of them and had regard for them. Al-Zamakhsharī was a contemporary of Rshīd al-Waṭwāṭ, and despite the fact that Rashīd was at the zenith of his fame at that time, he had a strong desire to attend to lectures of this scholar, and thus have the honour of becoming his pupil. Rashīd's joy knew no bounds when he was at last permitted by al-Zamkhsharī to attend lectures. Besides he was greatly fond of books and possessed a valuable collection of rare works.

Rashīd also had cordial relations with Qāḍī Ya'qūb of Jand, Ḍiyā al-Dīn Khaṭīb, Ḥasan Qaṭṭān, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Kharāqī, Sadīd al-Dīn Naṣar, Diyā al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad, Adīb-i-Ṣābir and Khāqānī, the well-known poet of Shīrwān.

The following are some of his works :—

1. *Ḥadā'iq al-Siḥr fi Daqā'iq al-Shir'r*, a book on rhetorics.

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1 *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. VII, pp. 91-94.

2. *Fasl al-Khitāb min Kalām-i-'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb.* This treatise was dedicated to Maḥmūd b. Iyal Arslān.

8. *Tuḥfat al-Siddīq ila al-Siddīq min Kalām Abī Bakr al-Siddīq.* This was also dedicated to the same person.

4. *Uns al-Lahfān min Kalām 'Uthmān b. 'Affān:*

5. *Nathr al-La'ālī min Kalām Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī.*

6. *Gharā'ib al-Kilam fi Ragha'ib al-Ḥikam.* This contains saying of Rashīd himself, and was dedicated to one of the ministers of the Khwārazmshāh.

7. *'Uqūd al-La'āli wa Su'ūd al-Layālī.* This work was dedicated to the chief judge of Khwārazm, Mas'ūd b. Yūsuf.

8. *Munya al-Mutakallimīn wa Ghunya al-Muta'allimin.* This was dedicated to 'Alī b. 'Imad al-Dīn Ilkhan.

9. *Ghurar al-Aqwāl wa Durar al-Amthāl,* dedicated to Sultanshāh

10. *Al-Kilam al-Nāsiḥah wa-al-Ḥikam al-Salīhah.* This work was dedicated to 'Imād al-Dīn.

11. *Mafātīḥ al-Ḥikam wa masābīh al-Zulam,* This was dedicated to Abu 'Alī, al-Ḥusayn b. Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad.

12. *Jawāhir al-Qalā'id wa Zawāhir al-Farā'id.*

13. *al-Fuwā'id al-'Alā'iyya.*

14. *Akhbār al-Afkār fi al-Rasā'il w-al-Ash'ār,*

15. Letters in Arabic in two parts.

16. Letters in Persian.

17. An Arabic anthology.

18. A Persian anthology.

19. *Nuqūd al-Zawāhir.*[1]

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INDEX (1)

PERSONS

A

Z

NAME OF PLACES

A

B

I

J

K

CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*Wrong*	*Correet*
v	17	has	had
2	5 fn:	Ma'ani	Ma'ārif
2	14 fn.	Khurāsān	Khwārazm
4	9	decided	conspired
4	20	one	and
4	27	553	533
6	7 fn:	he	we
6	9 fn.	these	these
7	1	Abid	Adib
8	3	to was made to	was made of
15	11	Malah	Malkab
16	4	Farma	Fuma
18	18	diffiuulty	difficulty
21	3 fn.	Rādhān	Rādkān
25	16	hi	his
25	20	th	the
28	9	Hamadān	Muzdaqān
29	4 fn:	nep	nephew
31	22	the	to the
38	16	Maiter	Master
38	20	Sanjar	Janqar
46	8	vietim	victim
49	31	Jaghar	Jaghrī
56	6	impressed	impress
66	11	Amir Muḥammad	Amir Ghyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd
66	12	,,	,,
67	2	Yalduz	Ilduzz
67	12	shattered	scattered
72	11	propunded	dropounded

77	19	man	man
80	21	poosibly	possibly
86	26	besn	been
86	30	nuworthy	unworthy
89	31	Tughāri	Tughrāī
99	25	Zauzan	Zawzan
116	20	Amīr al-Malik	Amin Malik
135	13	Urmish	Urmiyah
135	28	Ba'lk	Ba'alk
137	16	Qahistān	Quhistān
142	22	Your	Your Excellency
142	23	person	persons
145	7	Qapchā	Qashqar
145	15	Garjis	Gurji
147	17	Ormish	Urmiyah
148	15	Kaykaus	Khykhusraw
152	11	Talakh	Yatākh
167	10	Shams	Sharf
167	15	Armiykh	Urmiyah
168	7	One	and one
173	7	at	al
176	9	vicnity	vicinity
196	27	Funa	Fuma
197	19	Badakhshān	Badkān
199	11	Tatars	Tartars
200	16	hurding	hurling
205	3 fn.	Iamām	Imād
206	28	induces	induced
213	25	into	unto
214	23	Astrolobe	Astrolobe
230	7	his	and
232	27, 28	624	628
232	27, 28	1201	1231
232	27, 28	631	638
244	22	to	the